

Motor Racing Australian Grand Prix

Driver pact hands Finn unreal victory

Alan Henry at Albert Park

DAVID Coulthard began the new season as the Scot certainly earned the nodulation of the Formula One paddock, but enraged the race organisers, who lodged a formal complaint with the sport's governing body, the FIA. "It's not the right of team owners to decide who's going to win," said Australian Grand Prix Corporation chairman Ron Walker.

However, the FIA responded quickly on Monday, stating that the McLaren team would not receive any sanction.

The McLaren pair agreed that whoever reached the first corner of the race in the lead would take the win, assuming they had a clear run at the front without having to fend off outside opposition. Although Coulthard had qualified second behind Hakkinen, he believed his track record of brilliant getaways suited the odds in his favour.

"Mike and I have learned a lot over the winter," Coulthard said afterwards. "We are an awful lot

closer and we agreed that whoever got to the first corner first, we would not challenge each other. I think that this was very sensible under the circumstances as we had not done a full race distance prior to the race.

"I was very confident that I would beat Mike to the first corner but he made the best start. I think he deserved to win the race, no question about it. I could think about it clearly and did what I thought was the right thing to do."

Hakkinen dominated the first half of the race, but lost the lead when a mix-up in the pits caused him to be called in prematurely for his second refuelling stop with 22 of the 56 laps left. He was waved straight through the pitlane, returned to refuel two laps later and resumed 32 seconds behind Coulthard.

The Scot made his second stop on lap 42 but kept the lead from Hakkinen, now 13.5 seconds back. The Finn then produced a stunning demonstration of driving, pulling off a sequence of quick laps to catch Coulthard until, with two laps to go, the Scot pulled over on the start-finish straight.

"What David did today was remarkable," said Hakkinen after the race. "I have been in Formula One for many years and seen a great deal of driving, but today was really gentlemanly, unreal and fantastic. It was, however, questionable whether Coulthard should have



Team effort... Mika Hakkinen leads David Coulthard at the finish in Melbourne. PHOTO: NEWS

been expected to abide by his agreement under these circumstances. Hakkinen's delay may have been the team's fault but it was part of the natural ebb and flow of motor racing, correcting such a misfortune for the second successive race made Coulthard appear over-anxious to please and devalued Hakkinen's victory.

It was not the first time McLaren drivers had struck such a deal. In the 1988 Australian Grand Prix at Adelaide, Ayrton Senna did not attempt to race his team-mate Alain Prost after clinching the world championship in the previous race. Three years later, the Brazilian conceded the lead of the Japanese

Grand Prix to Gerhard Berger on the final corner as a gesture of thanks to the Austrian for his support throughout the season.

The fact that the two McLarens lapped the entire field last Sunday in a crushing demonstration of their technical superiority was hardly a surprise. Pre-season testing had indicated they would be the cars to beat, but as neither driver had completed a full race distance during those tests, their prospects were tinged with a degree of caution.

In the event, the team's domination was down to much more than simply their switch to Bridgestone tyres this season. The McLaren-Mercedes were established as the

fastest cars in the field by the end of last campaign and Melbourne was not a circuit on which hideous tyre wear was expected to offset significant performance advantage. The reality was that McLaren had got every variable — engine, chassis, tyres and aerodynamics — tuned to perfection and nobody else could get close.

Among the wreckage of the opposition was Michael Schumacher's Ferrari, which qualified last, directly behind the McLarens, but ran a strong third in the opening stages before the engine let him down. Jacques Villeneuve finished fifth.

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The Guardian Weekly



A Palestinian policeman and a protester in Bethlehem during riots against Israeli killings. PHOTO: YOUNG LEWIS

Israel resists EU role in peace moves

Ian Black in Amman and Julian Borger

ROBIN COOK, the British Foreign Secretary, was expected to go ahead with a controversial visit to a Jewish settlement on occupied Palestinian territory near Jerusalem on Tuesday, after accepting terms laid down by an angry Israeli government.

Israel's anger at Mr Cook's visit to the East Jerusalem settlement of Har Homa reflects its intransigent opposition to a role for Britain and its European partners in the difficult business of making peace between Arabs and Jews.

"We are determined that we will be part of the peace process," said Mr Cook, who is representing the European Union as well as Britain. Only last week Tony Blair and his Israeli counterpart, Benjamin Netanyahu, had held a friendly meeting. The 67-year-old King last week said he was not aware of any intention to release him from the contracts he signed with King in 1994 while in prison for rape.

The suit, against King and his company Don King Productions, states: "From the start, King and DKP betrayed the trust and confidence Tyson placed in them. Once King and DKP controlled every facet of Tyson's money, they wrongfully took money from Tyson for their own benefit."

The suit claims improper deductions were made "year after year", including from 1992 to 1995 when Tyson was in jail, when it is alleged King coerced Tyson into signing contracts without providing independent advice.

The contracts included an exclusive deal for the broadcast of Tyson fights on the Showtime pay-per-view cable channel and a six-figure deal with the MGM Grand Hotel in Las Vegas to stage the contests. The suit says King and his company wrongfully took \$4.5 million in purse money from the Showtime deal alone.

Tyson fled a suit in the US District Court of Manhattan alleging King had been cheating him out of ring earnings since 1988, when King began promoting Tyson fights. He has also applied to the court, a federal judge, to release him from the contracts he signed with King in 1994 while in prison for rape.

concerned to improve relations with the EU and had simply been playing to a right-wing gallery by railing the attacks so publicly over the visit to the settlement.

Mr Cook's trip was twice postponed in the autumn, annoying Arabs who accused Britain of double standards for talking tough about Saddam Hussein but not paying enough attention to the crisis in the Middle East peace process. Arab states and Palestinians also hoped that the EU, already backtracking the 1993 Oslo peace accords, would take a more prominent role and act as a counterweight to the United States, which is seen as favouring Israel.

Once Britain assumed the EU's rotating presidency in January it was just a question of dates. Mr Cook's schedule meant that to avoid snubbing anyone he had to crane his neck into three days.

International objections to Har Homa are not new: the start of preparatory work at the settlement last March was a blow to the peace process, just weeks after Israel finally redeployed troops from the West Bank into Hebron.

Meanwhile on Monday Jibril Rajoub, the Palestinian security chief in the West Bank, said he was suspending security co-operation with Israeli troops in Hebron after days of clashes.

Protests across the West Bank were ignited last week after Israeli soldiers shot dead three Palestinian workers at a checkpoint.

Mr Netanyahu described the shootings as a "tragic mistake", but right alliance retained a partial view that three soldiers arrested for their involvement were later released, despite eyewitness accounts suggesting they had opened fire in panic at a Palestinian minibus taxi, under the false impression it was part of a terrorist attack.

Mr Netanyahu's former aide, Mordechai Vanunu, the former technician who blew the whistle on Israel's nuclear programme, walked out of solitary confinement last week and mingled with fellow prisoners for the first time in 12 years after Israel's justice ministry ruled that he was in danger of losing his mind.

Cook fudge, page 6

French left takes rightwing bastions

Paul Webster in Paris

LIONEL JOSPIN'S Socialist government was a resounding vote of confidence in elections for the 22 French regions last weekend, with the conservative Gaullist-centred coalition polling one of its worst scores countrywide.

Although more than a third of the 38 million voters abstained, several rightwing bastions led by leftwing parties. The biggest shock was in the Ile de France, centred on Paris, where the left finished ahead of a rightwing coalition led by the Gaullist former prime minister Edouard Balladur.

The governing coalition of Socialists, Communists and Greens won a stamp of approval for their first nine months in power, gaining the one hand in 12 of the country's 22 regions against a mere two in the last regional ballot in 1992.

Other leftwing victories included Provence-Cote d'Azur; Aquitaine; Languedoc-Roussillon; Picardy in the north; and Brittany.

The left easily held on to rural Normandy and the industrial Nord-Pas-de-Calais, the two regions it won six years ago.

The results showed government parties with more than 41 per cent of the vote and the opposition Gaullist RPR, with their UDP partners, with 35.8 per cent. The centre-right alliance retained a partial majority in just six regions and an absolute majority in one.

The extreme-right National Front did well, scoring an average 15 per cent. Its councillors will hold the balance of power in several regions when members vote for their local chairmen this week.

The most significant result was the poor showing of the opposition parties, which were in government until they were ousted by the leftwing coalition in the June general elections.

Mid-term elections usually favour the opposition, but the polling confirmed Mr Jospin's personal popularity, and electoral approval for reforms such as the 35-hour working week and a \$8 billion job creation programme.

The elections also confirmed the growing impact of Jean-Marie Le Pen's National Front, which will have a deciding vote in selecting a chairman for the Paris region and Provence-Cote d'Azur, where it took about a quarter of the votes and finished ahead of the orthodox right.

Mr Le Pen's party is now the biggest single group in the Marseille region, where it has consolidated its position.

The Front's leader said that his party would back the RPR and UDP if they accepted six demands, including a pledge not to raise taxes and to defend French cultural identity. "This [offer] is aimed at all those

who want to save their regions from six years of socio-communism," Mr Le Pen said. The demands made no mention of the Front's nationalist policies, which include expelling immigrants.

While the Front lost a seat in Paris, it took 37 in Marseille — the same number as the RPR and UDP combined and 11 more than the Socialists without their coalition partners.

In three of the six *departements* or counties that make up the eastern Mediterranean region, the Front took more than a quarter of the vote. But the biggest humiliation for the orthodox right was in the Var around Toulon, where Philippe Lelièvre, the former defence minister who leads the UDP, was beaten into third place. The Front scored 28 per cent, one point less than the combined left.

Like the Gaullists, Mr Lelièvre's movement was told to reduce alliances with Mr Le Pen's extremists. The UDP leader has now come under pressure to amalgamate with the RPR.

Le Monde, page 21

Seats		
	1995	1992
Socialists	395	318
RPR	285	318
UDF	275	239
Communists	262	305
Others	147	115
Greens	68	108

High office for Hindu leader

Kohl's election prospects blacken

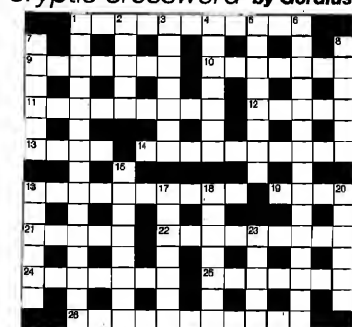
Border crossings filled with misery

Murder in the Maze prison

Blood money from tribal genes

Austria	AS20	Mexico	60c
Belgium	BF30	Netherlands	3 G
Denmark	DK10	Portugal	ES20
France	FF14	Saudi Arabia	SR16.00
Germany	DM4	Spain	P200
Greece	DR 000	Sweden	SK 19
Italy	L.3,600	Switzerland	SF 3.50

Cryptic crossword by Gordius



- Across
- Pudding to suit lovers (11)
 - Instrument backed rival over eastern church leader (7)
 - With poor coat, fire doesn't begin to give heat (7)
 - Dress for graduate taking part in degree ceremony, for example (9)
 - French writer about English fellow (6)
 - Making love with model at the office (4)
 - Office equipment still sound (10)
 - Simple crop, for distribution (6, 4)
 - Repetitive order for recording (4)
 - River water rages — 10
- Down
- Undisputed language by media after sex charge involving prime (6, 10)
 - Higgins' prodigy — one with zeal for reform (8)

- Muster possibly a centage and pair (7)
- Property falling to state causing some escape of wealth (7)
- Cl in within the realm of belief (8)
- Tolerate, oddly enough (7, 2, 6)
- When old they may become settled (6)
- Guard the south door... (8)
- Nigel put off Members from entering (8)
- Set square gained assent (8)
- Classical City orientation — at Leytonstone? (7)
- Duck when in danger of being shot? (7)
- Disaster fell on motorway (8)
- Dry regiment in the house, with only water (6)

origin of many a tale (5)

Without a union there's no possibility of striking (6)

What's written by the French is inspired? (7)

State of fashionable goddess (7)

Where treatment may be rough in men's organisation? (7, 4)

Last week's solution

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Tyson sues King for \$100m

ANY NOTION that the split between Mike Tyson and Don King is merely a diff venealed with the news last week that the former world heavyweight champion has sued the self-styled "World's Greatest Promoter" for more than \$100 million.

Tyson fled a suit in the US District Court of Manhattan alleging King had been cheating him out of ring earnings since 1988, when King began promoting Tyson fights. He has also applied to the court, a federal judge, to release him from the contracts he signed with King in 1994 while in prison for rape.

The suit, against King and his company Don King Productions, states: "From the start, King and DKP betrayed the trust and confidence Tyson placed in them. Once King and DKP controlled every facet of Tyson's money, they wrongfully took money from Tyson for their own benefit."

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The contracts included an

Vatican disappoints Jews

John Hooper in Rome

SENIOR Jewish figures reacted to the Vatican's long-awaited statement on the Nazi Holocaust on Monday with equivocal applause mingling or outright dismay.

In a brief 10-page document the Vatican expresses regret and "deep sorrow" for the actions of some Roman Catholics during the second world war. But while claiming it is an "act of repentance", it does not include any apology for Church leaders who failed to speak out against Hitler.

Long passages of the text invoke a spirit of justice and it mounts a spirited defence of Pope Pius XII, whose wartime silence has long been the subject of controversy.

Israel's chief rabbi, Meir Lau, said he had expected an unequivocal apology from the Vatican for Pius XII's "sinful attitude". Rabbi Lau, a Holocaust survivor, said: "There is no doubt that a clear condemnation from the Vatican at this time could have prevented the terrible things that were done."

Pius XII's defenders have argued he opted for "quiet

diplomacy" so as not to endanger Catholics in Nazi-occupied Europe. Monday's statement recalls that in 1939 the then pontiff warned against "theories which denied the unity of the human race. It adds that the "wisdom of Pope Pius's diplomacy" had been acknowledged by numerous Jewish groups.

A Reflection On The Shoah, the document took more than 10 years to produce.

Its preparation has been followed closely by Pope John Paul II, who wrote a preface for it in the form of a letter to its main author, the Australian cardinal Edward Cassidy.

Handwritten note: "The Guardian Weekly" (written vertically)

2 LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

West must do more than just warn Milosevic

THE British Foreign Secretary, Robin Cook, has warned the Serbian president, Slobodan Milosevic, that he faces harsher economic sanctions if the killings in Kosovo do not stop (West gets tough with Milosevic, March 15). Mr Milosevic couldn't care less. He knows Britain won't lift a finger to aid innocent people being killed in Kosovo because Britain, despite "warm warnings" didn't manage to deter or prevent any violence, mass murder or appropriation of land by the Serbs in the recent obscure war in Bosnia.

Recently, I visited friends in Bosnia-Herzegovina. They made me all too aware that the majority of Bosnians feel that Britain's inactivity during that war amounted to a tacit approval of Serbian aggression.

Mr Cook is quite right to contribute \$2 million towards the exhumation of the murdered dead from mass graves in Bosnia. But for the mass preservation of the living in Kosovo, what is desperately needed are not words but action.

Simon McBurney,
London

YOUR call for the restoration of Kosovo's autonomous status comes too late (Kosovo needs autonomy, March 15). The unconstitutional revocation of autonomy by Belgrade in 1989 has been treated internationally as Serbia's internal affair, despite a system of ethnic apartheid unimaginable elsewhere in Europe.

The Albanian majority has been encouraged to remain passive in the desperate hope that international diplomacy would prevail, with the result that a whole generation of young people has grown to adult-

hood while being denied access to its own educational institutions and medical facilities — solely because of ethnicity. They are angry and disillusioned. It is surprising that Kosovo Liberation Army only became active as late as 1995.

Alex Standish,
London

THE fact that Slobodan Milosevic is acting now, rather than later, bears witness to the growing force of the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA). For the past two years, arms and money have been secretly pouring into the KLA, principally from supporters in Switzerland, and the understanding that Kosovo will not be allowed to become another Bosnia (where an embargo was imposed on the effective smothering of Bosnian Muslims).

Serbian paramilitaries, and now regular units of the Serbian army, under direct instructions from Mr Milosevic, will be met by an indigenous force. The international community should not attempt to do this.

(Dr) Leonard Stone,
London

Ties that bind no longer

LIKE many Australians who lived through the war and who read Alexander Fraser's review of Christopher Sonnewille's book (Imperial Britain's last call to arms, March 1), the surprise for me was that the British needed to be reminded of the contribution to

Britain's survival made by Anzac and Canadian forces in 1939-45. How enthusiastic we were for things British then, even if on meeting them many of the actual British seemed to fall short of our expectations. In the halcyon days of "our" empire, only a small minority of us felt anything but a profound loyalty towards the British crown and an easy confidence in the excellence of British institutions. We were genuinely concerned about Britain's fate, for it seemed that upon it depended our own. The imperial sentiment remained strong into the fifties and might have remained so.

It was the "little Englanders" of 1974 who ultimately destroyed the links. It has taken a lot of time and a tens of thousands of disillusioning visits to Britain by old loyalists for The British that the Commonwealth had fought for had ceased to be, and in the meantime we found ourselves also to have changed. And so I will give my allegiance to the Australian Republic when it comes.

D C Lewis,
Brisbane, Australia

MARTIN Walker's excellent overview of Australia's constitutional debate (Royal splits in the lucky Country, March 8) omitted reference to one important influential factor, namely the strength of sentiment of the millions of Australians of Irish Catholic stock.

It was not until the first prime minister with these ethnic roots, Paul Keating, came to power that some sensitive issues were addressed. For example, it was he who ended the requirement that those taking Australian citizenship swear an oath of allegiance to the Queen, which enabled many thousands of Catholics to become Australian citizens without having to "bend a Catholic knee to a Protestant Queen".

So to constitutional reform. The good and the great who represented Australians at the Constitutional Convention referred to the Queen with pride, but nevertheless the came to the conclusion that nothing less than a republic would do.

But just as the word "republic" brings a shiver to the ears of some, to many others it is a red rag to a bull, implicit in the move to a republic is the abolition of the Westminster system of government. Australians of Irish Catholic stock have the constitution of Eire and its recent successes to draw on and perhaps do not share a feeling of reverence for the "Westminster system" with conservative Australians.

In combining the issue of the head of state with the issue of displacing the Westminster system, Australians have been ill served. Constitutional reform should be addressed in two steps. First the approval of the electorate should be sought to transfer to Australians the constitutional powers now vested in the Queen. Then, after the dust has settled, a less rushed debate could ensue concerning the redistribution of political power within the existing structure. But by conflating two distinct issues, a successful outcome is far from predictable.

Paul Lewis,
Coombe Beach, Queensland, Australia

IN HIS report on Australia's recent constitutional convention, Martin Walker misses the point. While the delegates to the convention went on to what kind of republic we should have, the basic issues re-

main unresolved. These are aborigines and rights and coming to terms with our colonial past.

John Hooper,
Killarney, Victoria, Australia

Epidemic of misinformation

THE coverage of anthrax (Inside Saddam's deadly bioweapon, February 22) in both the United States and British press has been full of misinformation. The New York Times referred to it as a "virus". A basic microbiology text would suffice to dispel much of the nonsense being peddled in support of Bill and Tony's great imperial adventure.

Bacillus anthracis cause a deadly disease, anthrax, in herbivorous humans are relatively resistant. Cutaneous anthrax, the most common form in humans, is due to direct inoculation into the skin and is rarely fatal. The frightening pulmonary anthrax is fatal. Veterinary workers are routinely vaccinated against it.

The causative agent of *Clostridium botulinum*, gas gangrene, is caused by part of Iraq's deadly arsenal, is commonly found in the bowels of most kinds of state and even that of some foreign secretaries.

Alopecia, produced by a common fungus, is more a problem in penitents than Iraqi politicians.

Of the pathogens depicted in the article, only rotavirus poses a significant threat to world health. The "virus" is a leading agent in infant diarrhoea — the primary cause of child mortality in impoverished places, such as Iraq (where seven years of punitive embargo has deprived the most vulnerable of access to safe water and medical care). If a generation of Iraqi children succumb to the disgusting infectious disease of deprivation, it will be in large part the result of the campaign of biological warfare conducted against them by the vicious elements of this US-British alliance.

(Dr) John Eastman-Arday,
Dunbarton, New York, USA

The profits of doom

IT MUST be tremendous fun to write an article about the year 2000 computer problem (A problem that has passed its sell-by date, February 22). It is simply referring to Sir Isaac Newton or to the sun that the sun will not explode, the destruction of large swaths of the South Pacific by huge storm bomb blasts? An act of extreme depravity by any standards. Which is the greater evil, I wonder?

Peter Rossi,
Pecs, Hungary

WHAT is the name of the subdivision of the euro? On French television recently, there was a reference to "Deux euros of 50 centimes" for 250 Euros. Does this mean that in the UK it will be "Two euros and 50 pence", in Germany "Zwei Euros und 50 Pfennige", etc?

Margaret France,
Nym, France

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Erratum: The Recruiter's Recruitment and Further Information for MBA applicants is available at: www.tophmba.com

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
March 22 1998

Briefly

BEG to disagree with Hugo Young's description of Helmut Kohl as a "European statesman" (March 1). I would call Konrad Adenauer a "European" statesman, but Mr Kohl is self-proclaimed "grandson" — isn't it to wear his shoes. A statesman is interested in Europe for Europe's sake. Mr Kohl is for his own sake. However, crowing for a united Europe, and that is not possible at least pushing through the euro (thus at least achieving monetary union), would make him superior not only to Adenauer but even to Bismarck.

W. H. H. H.,
After, Germany

TEXANS, and by extension all Americans, are divided on the merits of executing Karl Eugene Tucker, a pickaxe murderer (February 15). They do not appear divided to the same extent, however, on a bombing campaign against Iraq that might result in several thousand innocent civilian casualties. What are the famous self-declared compassionate humanitarian values of the American people?

Otto Brady,
Regina, Canada

CAN Andrew Neil really think Clint Eastwood is "diminished" and "arrested" by the HarperCollins/Chris Patten book (March 8)? In the view of Mr. Neil's massive, malign influence on journalistic integrity and standards of public debate (particularly here where he was around 70 per cent of the newspaper), this seems a little like condemning Saddam Hussein for his poor dress sense.

John Howard,
Wagga, Tasmania, Australia

PRESIDENT Jacques Chirac describes the killing of the poet of Corsica, Claude Frégise, as "a barbaric act of extreme gravity" (February 22). Is he simply referring to Sir Isaac Newton or to the sun that the sun will not explode, the destruction of large swaths of the South Pacific by huge storm bomb blasts? An act of extreme depravity by any standards. Which is the greater evil, I wonder?

Peter Rossi,
Pecs, Hungary

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
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Danish PM's poll victory stuns pundits

Stephen Bates in Copenhagen

DENMARK'S Social Democrat prime minister, Poul Nyrup Rasmussen, confounded predictions of his imminent political demise last week by winning the general election by the narrowest margin.

His coalition of left and centre-left parties retained control of the 179-seat Folketing (parliament) with 90 seats, a majority of one over the opposition conservative parties, which had less widely predicted to form a coalition government.

Newspapers in Copenhagen reflected the shock at the result, with headlines proclaiming "It's a miracle" about photographs of a man who had been elected prime minister.

Many pundits had predicted that Nyrup would be elected prime minister, but he was not expected to win the election. The result sent a wave of relief through the European Union, which had anxiously awaited the outcome to gain clues to the likely result of Denmark's referendum in May on whether to accept the Amsterdam treaty.

Mr Rasmussen said: "The most important task of all is now to secure a 'yes' in the referendum." All 15 EU member states must ratify the treaty before it can come into force. The Danish rejected the Maastricht treaty in 1992 before being persuaded to accept a revised version in a referendum the following year.

With the government and the leader of the opposition, Ole Ellemann-Jensen, strongly backing a 'yes' vote, polls show 48 per cent in favour and 35 per cent against.

Mr Rasmussen depends on the votes of two representatives from the semi-independent Faroe Islands and Greenland, Jonnaes Edsgaard from the Faroes said that although he would not vote to bring the administration down, he would not back it on all issues.

"Watch out for more government money for the Faroes — at least a support or sports stadium," observed one Copenhagen journalist. The election's losers were Mr Ellemann-Jensen and his conservative coalition, which lost votes to the right-wing parties of the far right.

Libya 'buying friends' over Lockerbie

Ian Black

ALARM bells are ringing in the United States and Britain at Libya's increasingly successful attempts to undermine United Nations sanctions imposed over the Lockerbie bombing.

Diplomats say that a clandestine attempt by Colonel Muammar Gaddafi to buy African support for his war against the United States and Britain is making it harder to keep the measures in place. An open debate on the sanctions at the Security Council was expected to take place this week. There are expected to be calls for the UN to take action against Libya's headquarter in New York City has held secret talks with Gambia, which holds the rotating presidency of the 15-member council, about paying off its debt to the organisation.



A man carries a sack of rice across a river in Jakarta, as Indonesia faces continuing food shortages. The embattled President Suharto looked obdurately opposed to meeting calls for reform as he appointed a cabinet of close allies last weekend. Comment, page 14; Washington Post, page 17. PHOTO: DYLAN MARTINEZ

Hindu leader gets the call

Suzanna Goldenberg in New Delhi

THE Hindu nationalist leader, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, last weekend received the call he had agonised over for five days: an invitation from India's president, K R Narayanan, to form the next government.

India's first Hindu nationalist government, a coalition of more than a dozen regional parties and several independent MPs led by the Bharatiya Janata party, was expected to be sworn in this week. Mr Vajpayee's alliance — still a less than 50 per cent majority — will face a confidence vote within 10 days of being sworn in.

Mr Vajpayee, aged 71, is one of India's most respected parliamentarians. But recent days have shown how easily his BJP can be brought to heel by a rebellious ally.

The BJP was its invitation to govern to the far right — at least a support or sports stadium," observed one Copenhagen journalist. The election's losers were Mr Ellemann-Jensen and his conservative coalition, which lost votes to the right-wing parties of the far right.

The summons arrived after Mr Vajpayee reaffirmed his support

for the alliance, and Mr Gandhi ruled out a claim to power by the Congress party.

The denouement to India's political crisis comes after a BJP-led alliance won the most seats — but fell short of a majority — in general elections last month.

The roller-coaster ride, it can be said, has shaken the BJP's confidence that it can impose its will on an alliance of regional parties. Sikh separatists, old-style socialists, Hindu extremists and nationalists in 1996 Mr Vajpayee led a BJP government that collapsed after 13 days.

Despite earlier pledges of support from the BJP and Congress party for five days. She angrily denied she had sought to install her allies in the finance and law ministries to influence corruption cases she is fighting.

Ms Jayalitha was finally mollified after one of the most suave BJP leaders, Jawant Singh, flew to Madras for negotiations. She agreed to join the government so long as it fulfilled its promises to make Tamil a national language, set in the state's favour in water disputes, and set aside 60 per cent of

government jobs for disadvantaged castes.

Ms Jayalitha, who has acted in more than 100 films, fought the elections with the BJP and convinced her unconditional backing for the party. But she then delayed the letter of support for Mr Vajpayee's alliance demanded by the president.

Privately, BJP leaders howled with frustration. "This lady is absolutely crazy," said a party leader after a day of meetings. "In this age, economics is politics. There is no question of giving up finance."

The BJP's conservatism owed much to Ms Jayalitha's unpredictability. Her candidate for finance minister, the mercenary Dr Subramanian Swamy, was until recently her most bitter enemy, having been instrumental in her fall two years ago in a welter of corruption charges.

Earlier, Ms Gandhi told the president her Congress party would not make a claim. "We cannot do that because we do not have the numbers," she said.

Ms Gandhi, widow of slain prime minister Rajiv Gandhi, became president of the Congress last weekend amid joyous street celebrations.

Libya 'buying friends' over Lockerbie

Ian Black

ALARM bells are ringing in the United States and Britain at Libya's increasingly successful attempts to undermine United Nations sanctions imposed over the Lockerbie bombing.

Diplomats say that a clandestine attempt by Colonel Muammar Gaddafi to buy African support for his war against the United States and Britain is making it harder to keep the measures in place. An open debate on the sanctions at the Security Council was expected to take place this week. There are expected to be calls for the UN to take action against Libya's headquarter in New York City has held secret talks with Gambia, which holds the rotating presidency of the 15-member council, about paying off its debt to the organisation.

The Week

PRESIDENT Boris Yeltsin cancelled all engagements and vanished to one of his country residences with what officials privately called a sore throat, flu and a severe respiratory infection.

ARMENIA'S presidential election was thrown into controversy when several candidates claimed the vote had been marred by fraud.

SERGEANT-MAJOR Gene McKinney, one of the highest ranking enlisted soldiers in the US army, was sentenced to a reduction in rank, but spared a jail term, after his conviction for obstructing an investigation into charges of sexual misconduct.

SWISS investigators believe they have firm evidence that Raul Salinas, the jailed brother of the former Mexican president Carlos Salinas, made tens of millions of dollars as an intermediary for Colombian drug-trafficking cartels.

THE United States military blamed the crew of a US minesweeper for the enticement accident in the Italian Alps last month in which 20 people died.

FLORIDA appeals court reinstated Joe Carroll as Miami's mayor, invalidating a lower court order for a new election.

A prominent Nigerian activist, Femi Fajana, has been arrested with seven others.

FIREFIGHTERS battling for the past two months against the worst fire in the Amazon have been refused the release of funds already approved to help fight the inferno.

THE Kennedy family suffered another setback when Joe Kennedy, the elder son of Bobby Kennedy, announced he planned to quit politics.

D BENJAMIN SPOCK, the sage of sensible parenting, said of sensible parenting: "You can't teach a child to follow their instincts, has died aged 94. Obituary next week.

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Special 10p

Kohl's camp fear his magic has gone

Ian Traynor in Bonn

HELMUT Kohl's future is hostage to his horoscope, the stars are looking distinctly inauspicious. The Arise German chancellor, according to one astrologer, has "a hard year ahead".

"He will experience a period of loneliness," Alexander von Diermann predicted. His career prospects are less than bright and his health could be better. "In this condition the election campaign will not bring him much fun."

Although the campaign has barely begun and Mr Kohl is a notoriously tough operator when his back is against the wall, those predictions are already looking pertinent.

Barely a day goes by without protests from his lieutenants that there is no alternative candidate to Mr Kohl. For the general election on September 27, the Christian Democrats number two, Wolfgang Schäuble, has reiterated that he will not run for chancellor, although the public and many in his party wish he would.

Mr Kohl's strength is foreign policy, which will not win votes. The single European currency either turns voters off or fills them with fear. Mr Kohl's strategy to run as the guarantor of the euro is being quickly shelved.

He is being advised to stop strutting the international stage and to focus on widespread fear and insecurity at home, where unemployment nudges a record 5 million.

Since Gerhard Schröder won elections in Lower Saxony this month and joined the Social Democratic nomination, his bandwagon has picked up speed.

In elections four years ago in the eastern state of Saxony, what the Christian and Social Democrats were neck-and-neck at around 35 per



Meeting of minds... the leader of the ex-communist Party of Democratic Socialism, former East German human rights lawyer Gregor Gysi, right, discusses tactics with PDS nominee Angela Marquardt. The party has also nominated a former spy chief and a former cycling star. PHOTO: HANS EGGINGER

cent. An opinion poll last week showed an unprecedented 30-point gap opening up before key elections next month. The CDU slumped to 26 per cent from 33 in January, while the SPD soared 7 per cent to 45. A national poll showed the SPD rising to 45 per cent while the CDU and its sister Christian Social Union in Bavaria slid to 34 per cent.

Leading Bavarian conservatives are suggesting that Mr Kohl is more of a liability than an asset and that he should refrain from campaigning in the southern state, which has an election two weeks before the national poll in September.

The chancellor's friends are complaining of a mood of fatalism in the Kohl camp and the chorus of different views on how to reverse the slide grows louder by the day.

Last week Mr Schäuble complained that the election campaign was becoming too personalised and American-style because of the "Schröder effect". But for the past 15 years Mr Kohl has personified the

CDU and Germany at large, and has ruthlessly sidelined all pretenders to his crown.

Although Mr Schröder is cannily issuing repeated warnings against over-optimism, leading Social Democrats are having trouble wiping the grin off their faces as the CDU resorts to a combination of whingeing and scare tactics.

Mr Kohl will no doubt claw back some of the ground he is losing. But he is facing his most formidable challenger yet.

Young Russia takes to cash economy

James Mack in Moscow

THEY ARE young, they are beautiful, they are full of hope — and untainted by 80 years of doleful, blinkered Soviet propaganda. The new generation of cola-drinking, gum-chewing, liberated Russian youth, raised when communism was already dying, has something to say in its first eager steps into the world of work: "Show us the money."

In a discreet brown envelope, preferably. The latest annual survey of social attitudes among young Russians reports that more than half of all 17-year-olds see nothing wrong with looking for a job where they stand a chance of being bribed. Nine per cent said they would be actively looking for something in their line.

Showing an inattentive grasp of market relations in a transitional economy, 65 per cent said they would marry for money and 28 per cent that they would consent to paid sex.

Almost half of those surveyed said they believed it was acceptable to take what you wanted by force.

Professor Boris Ruchkin, head of the Russian Institute of Youth's research centre, admitted the figures were worrying, but said they should be seen in the context of a generation which, for the first time in Russia, accepted liberty as normal. "Young people are better adapted to the conditions of a market economy," he said. "They don't want to return to the past."

They want cash — 57 per cent said money was the most important thing in life.

Of all today's desirable careers, only that of lawyer — much more lucrative than 10 years ago — emerged from Soviet times. Young Russians want to be — in descending order — manager of a commercial bank, management executive, bodyguard and mafia boss.

The survey questioned 3,500 people in three age groups — 17, 24 and 30 — across Russia.

The report noted that in reality many youngsters were likely to end up in one of three of Russia's fastest-growing new businesses — among the 10 million small traders, the 485,000 security guards or the 400,000 workers in the gambling industry.

with arms, and it looked more like the start of a guerrilla movement."

A journalist on the Albanian-language paper Koha, who encountered KLA representatives in Drenica last year, says: "They did not look like a powerful or confident group." Like many ethnic Albanians he argues that the KLA's importance has been exaggerated by Belgrade propaganda to justify repression.

Azem Vllasi, an ethnic Albanian in the former League of Communists, says: "This Jashari family is strong and famous locally, but it has no political agenda." President Milosevic's police action, he adds, was nothing more than a big display of force "to scare Albanians in general".

"At first we thought it was a small group, with logistical support from abroad, which attacked Serb police outside government, whether by the Turks the Yugoslav monarchy

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
March 22 1998



Why wait until March 22 to make her day?

This year Mothering Sunday falls on March 22 in the UK. But, why wait that long to send your love? Take a couple of minutes to call home, and you can share

your news with mum and the whole family. So don't just leave it to a card to say what you feel. Make that call now and make mother's day today.

BT It's good to talk

Clinton crisis over sex claim

BILL CLINTON'S critics scented fresh political blood as the woman at the centre of the latest sexual harassment allegations rocking his presidency broke her media silence and the White House faced its worst crisis since the Monica Lewinsky affair broke out in this year, writes Martin Kettle in Washington.

Kathleen Willey gave a television interview in which she spoke publicly for the first time about a 1995 incident in which Mr Clinton is said to have fondled her against her will in the White House. "I could not believe the recklessness of that act," Ms Willey said. She added the president had lied under oath about the incident.

A demoralised White House began yet another public relations offensive on Monday, releasing a series of apparently friendly letters sent to the president by Ms Willey after the date of the alleged incident.

Mr Clinton denied the claims, saying he was "devastated, shocked and disappointed" as to why she had invented such stories. Ms Willey alleged "she was the victim of 'horrible behaviour'" and said she considered slapping his face but "I don't think you can slap the president of the United States".

Trunkful of trouble, page 6

'The Boss' to lead China's parliament

Andrew Higgins and Reuters

CHINA'S reformist economic bar, Zhu Rongji, was elected prime minister by parliament on Tuesday to replace the conservative Li Peng.

In all, 2,800 delegates to the National People's Congress voted in favour of 69-year-old Mr Zhu, while 29 voted against and 31 abstained. Mr Zhu was the only candidate.

Nicknamed "The Boss" for his no-nonsense style, Mr Zhu, who topped galloping inflation in the mid-1990s, takes over with a mandate to overhaul crumbling state industries and rescue a banking system that is technically bankrupt.

He replaces China's shrewdest champion of the 1989 Tiananmen Square massacre, Mr Li, aged 80, who was required to step down at the end of his second five-year term. Mr Li was endorsed on Monday as chairman of the congress, prompting a burst of impatient dissent from the rubber-stamp parliament.

In a one-candidate "election", more than 10 per cent of delegates voted against Mr Li or abstained — a loss of face for the widely detested former engineer but not a threat to his appointment by the Communist Party's inner circle.

His unpopularity was highlighted by near unanimous votes for Jiang

Zemin, in a second term as state president, and Hu Jintao, the former party boss in Tibet, as vice-president.

Mr Zhu's mission has been given urgency by the Asian financial crisis that threatens China's exports and its foreign investment inflows. He is widely disliked among the Chinese bureaucracy and officials of state banks and enterprises, but nevertheless is respected for his solid track record in economic management.

He was expected to reshuffle the cabinet and nominate vice-premiers and other officials for endorsement by parliament this week.

Washington Post, page 17

Ruined hamlet reveals Serbian assault

Jonathan Steele in Prekaz

CHICKENS peek their way over smashed sofas in what was Adem Jashari's living room. The walls of the Prekaz village leader's home have gaping holes from mortar fire.

Apart from abandoned animals, and a dwindling number of journalists visiting the ruined hamlet, the field where 54 mounds mark the graves of victims of last week's Serbian attack, Prekaz is lifeless. Paramilitary police watch through binoculars from their base in a pine wood above the village, but they no longer stop visitors.

As the shock of the Serbian onslaught abates, the question surrounding it multiplies. Was the attack a genuine effort to eliminate suspected ethnic Albanian terrorists or a message of intimidation to an entire society? In the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) — which sides of the Yugoslav president Slobodan Milosevic, claim Mr Jashari helped lead the armed battle against the clan leaders defending their patch.

The region of Drenica, in which Prekaz lies some 32km west of Kosovo's capital, Pristina, has always been a wild area with little love for outside government, whether by the Turks the Yugoslav monarchy

or President Tito's communist state. Its isolation stems from its lack of strategic significance, and its tight clan structure which, until this month, alien rulers saw little need to challenge.

That frustration at Serbia's denial of Kosovo's autonomy should lead to armed resistance is hardly surprising. The KLA "only appeared in April 1996 and started to act publicly last year," Shkëlzen Matigaj, a local political analyst, says.

"At first we thought it was a small group, with logistical support from abroad, which attacked Serb police outside government, whether by the Turks the Yugoslav monarchy



Malnourished three- and four-year-olds at North Korea's Tachon nursery

PHOTO: HARRY HADZIKIS

On the border of despair

Andrew Higgins hears tales of misery from North Koreans facing starvation who are forced to make perilous forays into China in search of food

THROUGH three long North Korean winters, the mother from Musan waited stoically as hunger pained her body until she weighed less than she did three decades ago as a teenage girl. Last week, terrified, she swept through her mountain mining town and fear finally conquered fatalism. The government had announced — not to its own people but they had heard the rumours — that food stocks would run out this month. It was time to risk everything, she calculated. Or die.

With a friend, she trekked 50km to the border with China wearing thin cotton shoes, a ragged red top and a worn jacket. After nightfall, she stepped on to the ice still covering much of the Tumen river, no longer merely a frontier between states but a boundary between starvation and survival.

For an awful moment, the gamble seemed lost. The ice cracked. The 44-year-old mother of three plunged into the frigid water but managed to wade to the other side. Two days later, covering in a warm farmhouse out of reach of North Korean border guards, she was still terrified, still filthy but also still certain of her reckless act of self-preservation. "We have to rely on ourselves now. If you don't, you starve."

In a few days, she hopes to return the way she came with whatever food she has been able to scrounge, scavenge and barter. Her target is a 20kg sack of corn meal, more than her family of five has eaten for the past two months.

Her return could be even more perilous. North Korea has just put its troops on a war footing on an annual ritual of mass mobilisation. Tanks and troops stage mock battles. Even traffic police don camouflage gear to direct phantom traffic. As the country stirs, the military clings to its fossilised rites of vigilance.

Since North Korea first sounded the alarm after flooding in 1995, governments, aid workers and academics have argued over the scale of the crisis. Their different versions are often based on the same source: chaperoned and scripted visits to schools and hospitals.

"We see only what they want to show us. One week a kindergarten is full of malnourished kids. A week later it is full of well-fed children doing dances and singing songs. Frankly, we have no idea what is really going on," admitted one aid worker.

When Pyongyang wants sympathy — which it does now as the United Nations World Food Programme makes a new food appeal — it releases slightly an opaque curtain of secrecy, paranoia and pride. Once aid is on its way, the shutters come down.

Arithmetic over mortality rates has obscured a catastrophe that goes far beyond maize and rice. A modern industrial state of more than 20 million people is withering away: fuel is scarcer than food; factories have seized up; entire cities go dark at night.

A journey across the country on an electrified rail network can take weeks because of power cuts — and kill off weaker passengers en route. Only the collected warts of the late patriarch Kim Il-sung are in abundance: pupils still strong enough to attend school write lessons in their margins, according to one refugee.

Thousands of starving North Koreans have slipped across the Tumen river, attracting border guards enebled by hunger and ignoring China's own feeble protection against trespassers: signs in Chinese and Korean warning that it is "forbidden to transverse the border illegally".



Koreans' agony began only after flooding three years ago.

Unlike the Great Famine of 1959-61 in China, when 50 million people died, hunger in North Korea seems to have hit towns harder than villages. While workers on state farms often have small semi-private plots of land, urban residents rely entirely on government rations.

Foreign food aid feeds into this system, but refugees complain that even the starvation rations they are supposed to get rarely arrive.

"It was not enough to eat when they gave it to us. Now it is impossible to survive," said the mother from Musan. In January her family received 58 grammes of grain per person per day — less than a tenth of the amount needed. In February it dwindled further.

How many people have perished is impossible to quantify. Estimates range from an official figure of several scores to a staggering 2 million. Most aid workers dismiss the latter as far-fetched but admit they see only what the government wants them to see.

Last year the United States aid group World Vision said at least 500,000 and up to 2 million people had starved. The World Food Programme in 1997 increased the number of North Koreans to whom it distributed food from 4.7 million to 7.5 million (out of a population of 24 million).

The German Red Cross has called North Korea's famine one of the worst since the second world war and said 10,000 children were dying of starvation every month. The International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies warned recently that more than 5 million North Koreans were near starvation.

Pressure to see more is limited by the West's own agenda: food is part of a bigger political and military calculus. The US wants a formal peace treaty to replace a 1953 Korean war armistice agreement and is reluctant to upset talks due to resume in Geneva.

Occasionally, the charade comes unhooked. One charity was taken to kindergarten to admire how much its aid had helped but stumbled on two nurseries that had clearly not received the script in time. "Even our minders were shocked by the state of malnourished children," said a foreign aid worker.

A foreign expert who took three days' worth of food made what should have been a seven-hour train journey to Pyongyang and arrived famished seven days later. The woman from Tachon, a city of 60,000, said she had seen bodies dumped on to the platform at a rail junction near the Chinese border.

At Tumen town, the region's biggest border crossing, the misery was become a macabre tourist attraction. Chinese entrepreneurs hawk Kim Il-sung badges and North Korean bank notes, and rent out binoculars for a peek at the crumbling buildings of Nanyang, the town on the other bank. Carved into the hills above Nanyang, a giant fading slogan commands "Full Speed Ahead".

During the day, a trickle of cars and pedestrians cross the span as divided families shout to each other across the river. At night the Chinese side blazes with light while Nanyang disappears into darkness. "Most people don't know anything. They think this is the way it has to be and that everyone lives like this in our country too," said the woman from Great Red Army. "We are completely blind."

She said that her own parents had died in 1995 and she blamed their death on starvation rations, scoffing at the official explanation that North

Hero of the revolution

OBITUARY
Manuel Piñero

FEW people played such a significant role in the foreign activities of the Cuban revolution as Manuel Piñero Losada, who has died in a car crash aged 64. "Barbaroja" (or "Red Beard"), as he was known, set up the Cuban security apparatus in the early years of the revolution, and had special responsibilities for revolutionary developments in Latin America for more than 30 years. For much of that period, Piñero, after Fidel Castro and his brother Raúl, was the most influential figure in the Cuban regime.

He orchestrated Che Guevara's guerrilla activities in Bolivia in 1966-67, as well as earlier campaigns in Argentina and the Congo. In the 1980s he co-ordinated revolutionary movements in Central America and the Caribbean. He helped the Sandinistas seize power in Nicaragua, and was the man responsible for Cuban relations with the guerrilla movements in El Salvador and Guatemala.

Piñero was born in the provincial Cuban town of Matanzas, the son of Spanish immigrants from Galicia. He was sent to New York to study business at Columbia university in 1958 but returned and, like many young professionals, joined Castro's guerrilla army.

After the Bay of Pigs fiasco in 1961, he was put in charge of promoting revolutionary movements throughout Latin America and was also responsible for infiltration into the Cuban exile organisations in Miami.

After the military coup in Chile in 1973, and the death of the Marxist leader Salvador Allende, Piñero began to downplay the possibilities of revolutionary change in Latin America. But Piñero continued to find ways to sustain insurrectionary movements in the region independently of the Soviet Union and, to some extent, of the Cuban state.

In 1977 when the Argentine urban guerrilla movement, the Montoneros, was politically in decline (but immensely rich as a result of successful kidnapping operations), he persuaded them to use their ill-gotten gains to help finance the burgeoning Sandinista movement in Nicaragua, which eventually seized power in 1979.

After the Sandinista victory, Piñero returned to Cuba but after their defeat his fortunes changed yet again. He lost his position as head of the American department in 1992 — an indication, perhaps, that the export of revolution was finally off the Cuban agenda.

Piñero was a man of legendary charm, a bon vivant, and a brilliant raconteur with a fondness for the bottle. He had a vast and influential circle of friends on the Latin American left, but was deeply opposed to the operations he had led in secret police roles.

Manuel Piñero Losada, revolutionary, born March 14, 1933; died March 12, 1998

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Disabled set to win review of benefits

David Brindle

MINISTERS plan to appease disability groups over benefit cuts by announcing substantial concessions on the controversial programme of checks on disabled people's entitlement to social security.

One disability leader said last week that the Government seemed ready to look at every aspect of the programme, known as the benefit integrity project.

Ministers are determined to prevent a breakdown in relations with the disability lobby following publication last week of highly contentious proposals by official advisers to limit sharply the payment of disability living allowance (DLA).

Disability groups have estimated that the proposals, by the DLA advisory board, could mean that only one in three of the 1.8 million recipients of the benefit would remain entitled to it. But according to the board, up to 63 per cent of current awards are based on conditions "in conflict with the facts".

The groups, which believe they are at last involved in the Government's disability benefits review after months of exclusion, are confident that the concessions will be announced at their next meeting with Harriet Harman, the Social Security Secretary, on March 30.

The project, initiated by the last government, involves the checking of some 450,000 DLA awards. At least 4,000 people have had their payments stopped or cut, although one in five of these decisions has been overturned on review.

Ms Harman is understood to have been privately critical of the handling of the project, being run by the Benefits Agency.

Although she will not agree to the disability lobby's demand to suspend the checks, she is prepared to make further changes. She has already announced that no DLA payment will be stopped or cut without seeking further evidence from a third party such as a carer or a GP.

Likely immediate concessions include an overhaul of the questionnaire and letter sent to claimants who are not visited; speeding up of appeals against decisions to stop or cut payments; and measures to prevent disabled drivers having to sell their specially adapted cars if they lose DLA, only to have to buy new ones if they win it back on appeal.

Bert Massie, chief executive of Radar, the Royal Association for Disability and Rehabilitation, said: "Ministers are beginning to realise that this scheme is not working and there is an atmosphere of distrust about it. We have said we want to go over every aspect of the thing, from the roots up."



One of 1,200 disabled campaigners who lobbied Parliament about benefit cuts last week. PHOTO: MARTIN ARNOLD

Direct action group grabs the headlines

NAN impressive display of solidarity, more than 1,200 disabled people converged on the House of Commons to lobby MPs last week, voicing their anxiety about feared cuts to their benefits, said *Amelia Gentleman*.

But that public show of anger was barely noticed beyond Westminster.

Another demonstration over the same issue, staged just a few months ago at Downing Street, attracted a mere 20 disabled campaigners. Yet

pictures of it made the front pages of newspapers throughout Europe and the United States.

The difference? The active involvement of the Disabled People's Direct Action Network (DAN), an organisation that has fought hard to change the face of disability activism.

Lord Ashley, chairman of the All-Party Disability Group, commented that the Government was making mistakes out of the disabled. Mr Hollands replied: "I don't know what's militant about wanting to get on a bus."

abandoned their wheelchairs and lay on the pavement in pools of blood-red paint, was carefully planned.

And it worked. Disability was back on to the agenda and Tony Blair discussed it at that evening's news.

Lord Ashley, chairman of the All-Party Disability Group, commented that the Government was making mistakes out of the disabled. Mr Hollands replied: "I don't know what's militant about wanting to get on a bus."

Prescott hits back at personal attack on son

John Hetherington

PETER PRESCOTT turned the heat on Labour rebels in Hull last week after Department of the Environment auditors found no irregularity in the sale of 25 former council houses to a company employing his son, Jonathan.

Closely agitated by personal attacks by party claimants in the city, the Deputy Prime Minister vented his fury on long-standing enemies and came close to accusing them of having a hidden agenda. "Perhaps they could now have the decency to apologise," he said.

Mr Prescott, who heads the Department of the Environment, which has overall responsibility for local government and housing—

ordered the auditors' inquiry into the disputed sale last week, following a leak inspired by two Hull men who claimed to be researchers. They were subsequently interviewed by police at their own request.

The auditors' report followed allegations that the houses were sold at a knock down price of just over £5,000 each, when, critics claimed they were worth £20,000.

But their report said: "Nothing we saw... leads us to conclude other than that the sale was handled with full regard to the requirements of regularity and propriety."

With 2,000 houses under its wing, the North Hull Housing Action Trust, at the centre of the row, was one of seven quangos created by the last government to renovate run

Spartan sisters take on unconvincing Ethics Man

SKETCH
Simon Hoggart

YEARS ago it was commonly said, by women at least, that if women ruled the world there would be no wars. No woman would ever vote for ladies being bombed.

Then along came Golda Meir and Margaret Thatcher, who put a stop to that line of thought. But their terms of office covered the rise of feminism, which produced subtler arguments. One was that men were the violent but essentially innocent victims of testosterone poisoning.

Maybe — though it was the women of Sparta who told their men to return from battle either victorious or dead. And it was Ann Winterston (Conservative, Congleton) who stood up quivering before Mr Mowlem last week, as passionate with rage and fury as any Ian Paisley, to denounce the peace process in Northern Ireland.

"The Unionist community must feel they have been betrayed and devastated. The peace process has been hijacked by Sinn Féin (IRA) and now could only be correctly described as [much-needed pause for breath] the appeasement process!"

Moments later, Marion Roe (C, Broxbourne) was on her feet snarling about Rosita McAlees (not being sent off to Germany to face trial). The sisters in the Broxbourne and Congleton chapters of Scum (Society for Cutting Up Men) would have had much to chew on there.

Mrs Roe's contribution started a shley Prime Minister's Question Time for Tony Blair. William Hague scored over Britain's future to sign

a United Nations resolution condemning China over human rights. The decision has been described by Wei Jingsheng, China's best known dissident, as "astounding".

"The Foreign Secretary," said Mr Hague, "poses unconvincingly as Ethics Man. But the first time the Ethical Foreign Policy is put to the test, there is no trace of it."

Mr Blair provided no reason for this surprising decision, beyond saying: "We did not think, in the circumstances, that it was the right thing to do" — a meaningless formulation which he later called "the reason I have given".

"Why did you nick the money, Biggles?" "I thought it was the right thing to do." But why? "For the reasons I have given."

Paddy Ashdown tried to persuade him that Parliament was the guarantor of standards at Times newspapers, and in particular their coverage of China. He did not say, though it hung in the air like the fumes from an opium pipe, that this might be one more example of Mr Blair's know-nothing to the great cratic tyrant, Rupert Murdoch.

Then just as Mr Blair might have his hope was lost, along came Dr Julian Lewis.

Dr Lewis is a collector of facts, and he poured out a shoebox full. Rape victims in psychiatric hospitals. Sinn Féin's kidnapping and work of all, the honour for "Eric Hobsbawm, a lifelong community who just happens to be the father of the business partner of the girlfriend of the Chancellor of the Exchequer."

Dr Lewis (he is not a real doctor, ie, a spin doctor, but the academic type) looked pained by the hilarity. This revelation occurred

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
March 22 1998

BSE costs 'exaggerated'

Paul Brown

THE BSE crisis was not nearly as disastrous for Britain as originally predicted, with some farmers gaining and new jobs being created, according to a government-funded report published last week.

Although the cost for the first 12 months was between £740 million and £880 million, the effect was mitigated on individual farms and businesses by government subsidies and compensation. These figures, for the first year after the probable link between BSE and new variant CJD was announced, are well below those used by ministers at the time.

The prediction of 46,000 jobs going was well off the mark, with only 1,000 net losses in the first 12 months, the report, commissioned by the Treasury and the Ministry of Agriculture, says.

Beef sales dropped 36 per cent, but as a result of the increase in sales of other meat products — poultry, lamb and pork — plus subsidies to offset the BSE crisis, net farm income increased in 1996 compared with 1995.

Abattoirs were badly hit but compensation payments and a fall in cattle prices actually helped lift profit margins. In the regulation sector an extra 300 to 500 jobs were created for inspectors and related posts.

The biggest losers were in Northern Ireland, followed by Scotland, and parts of northern and south-west England. In eastern counties of England and lowland areas, where pig and poultry farming are important, farmers gained, while their counterparts in the upland and western areas lost out.

The report says: "The BSE crisis occurred against a backdrop of existing changes in the industry and broader economy, falling demand for beef overcapacity in sections of the industry, increasing pressure to improve hygiene, and the strong appreciation of sterling, which makes disentangling the precise impact of the BSE crisis difficult."

It says that in the first year the £1.5 billion of subsidy and compensation payments to farmers, abattoirs and other food businesses did "largely compensate" for the loss of output, but it warns that once those subsidies are removed this year, the hardship will increase.

The ban on sales of beef on the bone faces legal challenge after a hotelier last week won the first ban in his battle to have the new regulations ruled illegal by the courts.

Lawyers acting for James Sutherland, the first person to be prosecuted under the ban, won the right to a preliminary hearing into the legality of the regulations. It will take place next month.

Inquiry hears of victim's plight

CLARE TOMKINS enjoyed life to the full, loved animals, was looking forward to getting married and had been a strict vegetarian since the age of 13, writes Owen Bowcott.

But over the course of six months she degenerated into a tormented patient racked by spasmodic head movements, whose hands and feet turned inward. She could not walk unaided, covered in fear from members of her family and "howled like a sick, injured animal".

Last week her father, Roger Tomkins, described in harrowing detail the agonies endured by his terminally ill daughter and the effect her wasting condi-

tion is having on the family's life. Relatives of other victims wept as the BSE inquiry listened in hushed silence to Mr Tomkins, an engineering company director, recalled how Clare gradually succumbed to the human equivalent of the disease, new variant CJD. Clare, now aged 24, is bed-bound, doubly incontinent, and requires round-the-clock nursing and an automatic pump to clear accumulating saliva.

Treatment at several hospitals, involving being sequestered under the Mental Health Act and electroconvulsive therapy, followed before she was referred to St Mary's Hospital in London and diagnosed in August 1997.



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Germans demand trial

Ian Traynor in Bonn
and Owen Bowcott

GERMAN prosecutors last week demanded that Rolf Maaß be tried in a court in Bonn for his role in the 1996 IRA attack on a British army base in northern Germany. The demand was made after the collapse of the 18-month investigation into Ms McAlees's alleged role in the 1996 IRA attack on a British army base in northern Germany. The demand was made after the collapse of the 18-month investigation into Ms McAlees's alleged role in the 1996 IRA attack on a British army base in northern Germany.

The collapse of the 18-month investigation into Ms McAlees's alleged role in the 1996 IRA attack on a British army base in northern Germany. The demand was made after the collapse of the 18-month investigation into Ms McAlees's alleged role in the 1996 IRA attack on a British army base in northern Germany.

The prosecutors' insistence that Ms McAlees should not be allowed to go free, however, contrasted with the view of the government in Bonn, which appeared happy to close the book on the IRA case.

Bernhard Boenig, of the justice ministry, signalled German acceptance of the ruling by the UK Home Secretary, Jack Straw, and indicated that Bonn would not be pursuing the matter. "The case is now closed because the British decision is final."

Ms McAlees's refusal to extradite his own nationals for trial, insisting on trying suspects at home, that stance infuriated the Irish Republic, which refuses to extradite suspects to Germany on the grounds of lack of reciprocity.

Ms McAlees is undergoing treatment at the Maudsley psychiatric hospital in London, with her daughter, Lorraine, who was born last May.

Anti-hunting MPs fight on

ANTI-HUNTING MPs last week pressed to continue bringing legislation to ban fox hunting before Parliament until they overcome the Tory-led guerrilla forces that killed Mike Foster's bill, writes Michael Whelan.

After RUBENASTON had blocked any progress for the second successive Friday, Mr Foster insisted that his bill was "alive and kicking" and would be back in the House of Commons on Friday.

But there are four other private members' bills to get their Commons third reading. And pro-hunting MPs promised to "talk out" again, as they did last week.

A cabinet of Suharto's chums

If Indonesia should implode, the name of Mohammad Hasan, the new minister of trade and industry, will be inscribed high on the roll of folly. "Bob" Hasan is an old chum and golfing partner of President Suharto who evokes the shady world of ronyism. The only issue is whether his name should come before that of the new minister for social welfare — the president's daughter, "Tuti."

Getting a grip on PC pronouns

It was comparatively easy to force the pace of evolution by coining "chairperson" or "chair" to replace "chairman" from its sexist peer. And "mankind" is gradually being replaced by "mankind" (which, although it still contains the male-oriented word "kind," is sort of ambushed by the letters around it). The new words have been created in recent years. Most of the new words are generated in response to sex pressures. Except in one case. Inventing a word for a specific pronoun to embrace men and women has so far failed. The obvious solution would be to take one letter from "he" and insert it in "her" (or vice versa) to produce "his" or "her" — doesn't sound right — but nor, presumably, did "his" when it was first uttered. Maybe a word for a pronoun of millennium should be set aside for the device of a better solution. Are there suggestions out there?

Give us this day our
daily toxic bread

Plans in the US to banish ganulna organic produce could laad to the sama thing happening in Britain, writes **George Monbiot**

the next step, if these standards are adopted in the US, is not hard to anticipate. American manufacturers complain to their government that the European Union is erecting barriers to trade, by refusing to allow them to label the poisonous substances they sell in Europe as hazardous food. The US government will take the


British people now have a brief opportunity to do the next, best thing and demand of the USDA that it drops this attempt to smother the needs of rehabilitation. There are no second chances. Once the new standards come into force, the British government will be powerless to protect its own citizens from the consequences.

Picking up the tab for past policy blunders

From rail privatisation to BSE, Labour has inherited a nightmare. **Larry Elliott** and **Mark Atkinson** spell out the cost implications

THE people who run Britain's pension industry had a nasty fall last week when the Government's financial watchdog, Howard Davies, said on BBC Radio's Today programme that the cost of the pensions' mis-selling scandal of the 1980s could be as much as £11 billion.

However, it is now clear that, far from being part of the solution to Britain's problem, the marketing



Falklands


First British war in 1982: Britain has
won a decisive and satisfactory battle on
the ground.
Cost: £100 million

INVOICE

BSE

Ministry of Agriculture
payments for the last two
years include: (millions of
pounds)


Compensation to farmers:	915m
Payments to slaughterhouses:	111m
Cost of landrations:	57m
Refusals:	142m
Other: for transport of meat, etc.	100m
Grandtotal, bring the total to:	2,455m



Water


The Tories engaged
with utility bills of
some £22 billion
privatisation:
Water accounted for
the biggest slice —
£8 billion of current
plans.

Rail privatisation



British Railways Company
forecast saving £2.5bn
Rat of price £2.5bn
Difference £0.7bn

Personal pension plan
Purchase from the 1975-1980
Difference £0.7bn



Personal pensions

Personal pension plan
Purchase from the 1975-1980
Difference £0.7bn

£1 m expenditure
Total savings to cost £1.7 bn

Subtotal £2.5bn

Total £2.5bn

£1 m expenditure
Total savings to cost £1.7 bn

£1 m expenditure
Total savings to cost £1.7 bn

of the economy and society are part of the problem.

health experts, the food industry was allowed to feed the remains of dead animals to cattle without being

boiled up to a high enough temperature to kill off the disease.

Some of the gloss has also come off the privatisation miracle over the

past few years. The Conservative argument is that previously nation

to the state at all. Before privatisation, it was subsidised by £900 m

But politically, the free-market experiment has backfired. The call for tighter regulation of the market at the price that is still being paid resulted in last year's electoral wipeout of the Conservatives and may keep them in opposition for some time.

The tobacco companies are waging war on a nation. **Jenny Barraclough** visits the casualties

Indian addiction

western ways. At the Tata Memorial Hospital in Bombay, bed after bed contains patients with an array of visually shocking cancers of the mouth and neck. Many have tubes of flesh connecting their chest with their faces, where the removal of the tumour has left a hole. There I saw Dr Pradham, an Edinburgh

The next operation is on a middle-aged man who has smoked biftis (cheap, small rips with raw tobacco wrapped inside a leaf) all his life. He has

At least 50,000 people have their larynx removed like this each year in India. Ninety-five percent of such cancers are caused by tobacco. Into this tobacco-loving society is being introduced a yet more insidious threat. Western firms such as BAT want to get these millions of people addicted to manufactured cigarettes, and to seduce the young.

BAT, for example, owns 32 percent of the Indian Tobacco Company, which controls 64 percent of the cigarette market. The

pared with his sexual performance?" He was brought in to make a film that would persuade Indian men that "Heroes," although small, would enhance their masculinity. His commercial used a famous and sexy model of a current box-office hit to beat up all the men and get at the girls, while smoking very small Heroes. Sales went up from 0.6 billion cigarettes in 1994-5 to 18 billion by 1998.

And the big challenge is to lure the very young. Cricket is

World Cup on television experimented with cigarettes afterwards, and 16 per cent thought you became a better cricketer after you smoked Wills.

Half India's population is under 20. Tobacco companies are trying to make up for lost sales in the West by pushing the developing countries. They have already made huge gains in Burma, Taiwan, South Korea and Malaysia. Now, in India, they are trying to crack one of the biggest markets in the world.

Brown to keep a tight rein

Mark Atkinson and
Charlotte Denny

THE Chancellor, Gordon Brown, was expected to maintain a tight grip on Britain's public spending in Tuesday's Budget, with only minimal extra cash for priority areas, despite unravelling a sharp improvement in the public finances.

Mr Brown was expected to reduce his public borrowing forecast for the current financial year to around half the present level of \$15.5 billion, fueling accusations that he is sitting on a pre-election war chest.

The improvement in the public finances this year is largely due to one-off factors, such as unexpectedly low interest rates, which have helped to reduce the government's borrowing costs. The five-year deficit reduction plan, designed to put the public finances on a sustainable long-term footing.

His forecasts for public borrowing in future years were expected to remain more or less unchanged from November's Budget report, which predicted a small surplus by the turn of the century.

Although substantial extra cash is likely to be found in the summer for education and health by switching money from other programmes, overall expenditure controls will remain stringent because of the need to reduce the national debt, which cuts by more than \$40 billion a year in interest payments.

The Chancellor was expected to reduce his GDP forecast for this

year, from a range of 2.25-2.75 per cent to 2.25 per cent. The range reflects uncertainty about the impact of the Asian financial crisis on British exports and business confidence, as well as the improvement in the economy's performance that may result from the welfare to work programme.

Mr Brown is also still concerned about the dangers of an explosion in pay, which could force the Bank of England to increase interest rates again to restrain inflation. Higher interest rates would slow economic growth.

Mr Brown is expected to reduce his forecast for inflation this year from 3 per cent to about 2.75 per cent, again reflecting the deflationary impact of the crisis.

Meanwhile the labour market is expected to be more buoyant, with the unemployment rate falling from 6.6 per cent in the last quarter of 1997 to 6.2 per cent by the end of the year. The revision brings annual growth up to 2.5 per cent.

The Chancellor on Monday outlined tough new curbs to prevent governments using tax cuts or pre-election spending sprees to buy votes when he published a headline Code for Fiscal Stability.

Labour's code will include a commitment to borrow only for investment and to hold the stock of government debt stable as a proportion of national income over the economic cycle.

For details of the Budget, visit the Guardian website: www.guardian.co.uk/budget98



PC sales boom loses its byte

Alexander Garrett
finds key players in the
computer industry
suffering from a rare bout
of market insecurity

WHEN Intel, the world's biggest semiconductor maker, announced that its profits would fall in the first quarter of the year, the computer industry shivered.

When the world's biggest PC company, Compaq, reported days later that its first quarter sales would be back at 1997 levels and that it expected barely to break even during the first quarter of this year, alarm bells rang. Each company claimed its setback was temporary, caused by special circumstances.

The fear, though, is that the seemingly limitless boom that the PC market has enjoyed over the past few years could be at an end, and that the bulletins from Intel and Compaq earlier this month are the harbingers of a state of bad news to come from the industry.

The stakes are high — especially in the United States. An American Electronics Association study last November concluded that information technology had become the largest-selling industry in the US, accounting for about 8.2 per cent of gross domestic product. It is the largest manufacturing employer, with growth for 4.3 million jobs in 1995-96 alone.

Technology is taking an increasingly dominant position in the US stock markets. Microsoft is poised to overtake General Electric as the

world's biggest company in stock market valuation, with Intel not far behind. A serious downturn in the PC market could be enough to trigger a crash on Wall Street.

Steve Brazier, a PC analyst with UK research company Dataquest, says: "We used to say that the PC market was driven by economic fundamentals. Now we tend to say that the economy is driven by PC market fundamentals."

And Mike Bourne, manager of the Finsbury Technology Trust, argues: "Inflation is low worldwide because of the implementation of technology. The reason, he says, is that the productivity benefits have cut wage inflation and fostered efficient pricing."

There have been a number of recent indications that life has been proving tough for PC manufacturers. In Europe, a number of Asian-owned companies have been pulling out of the mainstream PC market, either reluctantly or by choice or withdrawing altogether. They include ICL, owned by Fujitsu, ASAT, part of Samsung, and Mitel. Even Intel, the world's biggest semiconductor maker, has been hit hard by the downturn in PC sales.

And Compaq's recently announced merger with Digital Equipment, presented as a move into the more lucrative area of computer services, was seen by some as an acknowledgement that margins will only get tighter.

Yet industry watchers argue that Compaq and Intel's problems do not signal an industry-wide downturn.

Brazil says there has been a fall in demand in Asia and Japan, but Europe is extremely buoyant. The big question mark is over the US. Compaq's problems have been blamed by some on "channel stuffing" — pushing too much stock into the arms of distributors during the fourth quarter of 1997 in the expectation of continued sales growth that failed to materialise. The firm's financial year ends in December, and it may have wanted to put the best gloss on its results.

Intel, say analysts, failed to make its new top-range Pentium II processors available either on server or notebook computers. It has also failed to take advantage of the PC market segment of the PC market, which accounted for 25 per cent of US home computer sales last year, up from 7 per cent in 1996. In this, Intel's stronghold has been broken by rivals such as Advanced Micro Devices and Cyrix, which is owned by National Semiconductor.

Intel may have been a victim of its own success. There is a surplus in the computer industry that "What Andy Grove, chief executive of Intel, and the Bill in Microsoft's Bill Gates, the meaning is that every time Intel produces a new semiconductor with faster processing power, Microsoft comes up with new software that slows it down again."

Brazier says Intel has found itself a step ahead of Microsoft, which has not yet produced the software to take full advantage of the latest processor. "If you buy a low-spec PC, you will still get plenty of performance from today's software."

Meanwhile PC sales forecasts remain upbeat, even if growth is expected to slow. The research group International Data Corporation, for example, predicts that the number of PCs sold worldwide this year will be 13.4 per cent higher than in 1997, compared to last year's 15.2 per cent growth; in the US it says growth will fall from 19 per cent to 15.4 per cent.

But margins are likely to get tighter. Compaq has already signalled that it intends to cut prices further. And Mark Vaygett, an analyst with the UK-based research company Romtec-GIS, says: "I think the cost-cutting power has been exhausted, so that on some occasions the cost of the machine is higher than the price of the software."

Since the dawn of the industry the cost-cutting power has been failing, but the relentless drive to offer more complex software and greater functionality has ensured that users are forced to upgrade endlessly, so that on some occasions the cost of the machine is higher than the price of the software.

There is a consensus, however, that over the last few years, the cost of PCs has been falling, and the more prices fall, the more PC manufacturers will have to sell in order to maintain the double-digit growth rates investors have come to expect from them.

For the moment, few seem to think that heady growth has done anything more than take a pause for breath. However one thing is sure: there will be anxious eyes on the financial results of the key players over the coming months. — The Observer

In Brief

DRUGS producer Glaxo Wellcome is understood to be encouraging leading City shareholders to buy the stock of SmithKline Beecham's chief executive, Jan Leachly, in order to clear the way for a revival of a \$1.6 billion merger of the two groups, which collapsed amid rumours of a personality clash between Mr Leachly and Glaxo head Sir Richard Sykes.

BRITAIN and Sweden were times for the sidelines of the European monetary system when Greece took the drachma back in to the exchange rate mechanism, a significant step towards joining the currency in 2001. The price was a 1.4 per cent devaluation against a basket of European currencies.

UK INSURERS and financial advisers face a bill for personal pensions mis-selling of up to \$18 billion, almost three times the original estimate, and the number of victims could be as high as 2.4 million, according to figures released by The Financial Services Authority.

MILLIONS of dollars worth of bonds on the London market were going to see a price rise, but a share and asset owner that will give it control of both South Africa's Tavistock coal group and about a fifth of its own equity. The exercise leaves Lend Lease a leading coal producer.

ANEAR \$330 million package to buy off holders of bonds issued by the collapsed Bechtel merchant bank was unveiled. The cash on offer includes substantial contributions from Dutch group ING, the new owner of Bechtel, and accountants Coopers & Lybrand, the former Bechtel auditors.

SEGA, the Japanese computer games giant, acknowledged for the first time the scale of the defeat it has suffered at the hands of Sony and Nintendo when it disclosed that its games division had racked up losses of \$380 million following a bitter battle in a market estimated to be worth more than \$15 billion.

FOREIGN EXCHANGES

	March 18	March 19
Australia	2,497.1-2,498.1	2,492.9-2,493.9
Canada	21.92-21.94	21.92-21.94
Denmark	62.28-62.28	61.83-61.83
France	1,230.9-1,230.9	1,230.9-1,230.9
Germany	1,230.9-1,230.9	1,230.9-1,230.9
Hong Kong	12.40-12.40	12.40-12.40
Italy	1,230.9-1,230.9	1,230.9-1,230.9
Japan	21.92-21.94	21.92-21.94
Netherlands	2,497.1-2,498.1	2,492.9-2,493.9
Sweden	12.40-12.40	12.40-12.40
Switzerland	1,230.9-1,230.9	1,230.9-1,230.9
USA	1,230.9-1,230.9	1,230.9-1,230.9

The Washington Post

'Worse to Come' for Asia's Ailing Tigers

Keith B. Richburg in Hong Kong

THE REGION'S currencies have largely stabilized — they are far lower in value, but no longer plummeting. Stock markets have ended their downward slide for now. Parliaments are opening, opening up closed economies and allowing foreigners larger chunks of the pie. And over the longer term, cautiously poking through the rubble is a sign of recovery.

In the worst finally over for Southeast Asia's "tiger" economies? After eight months of financial turmoil, is the region now looking at recovery?

No, quite, say economists and regional analysts. In fact, most warn that the worst is yet to come.

"The economic shock is only just beginning to fall," said David L. Forster, chief strategist for the London-based group Independent Strategy. For one thing, he said, the region has not yet experienced the major industrial production — or the widespread layoffs — expected later in the year, particularly in South Korea and Thailand as they begin to implement the policies of restructuring programs mandated by their International Monetary Fund bailout packages.

In the next three to six months, we're going to see a lot more stories about corporate failures and bank failures," said Andy Tan, general manager of the Standard and Poor's office in Singapore. "That's a foregone conclusion."

A nightmare element haunting the region is the outlook for China, where economists and others fear a growth slowdown in the world's most populous nation could dramatically disrupt Southeast Asia's recovery efforts. While Chinese officials insist they can achieve a 5 per cent growth this year, down from 8.8 per cent last year, most analysts believe that is optimistic.

A nightmare for Southeast Asia would come if China decided to devalue its currency, the yuan, to make its exports more competitive. That would not only disrupt the Hong Kong dollar's current "peg" to



Family members of political prisoners demand their release in Seoul last week. Held new pledges of reform by the new government have not yet banished economic uncertainty

the US greenback — it would likely set off a wave of competitive devaluations that would further hamper efforts at economic revival. That appears unlikely at least for a while. Chinese officials have insisted they have no plans to devalue; the currency is not \$140 billion worth of foreign reserves. But even without a devaluation, China is facing pressure to keep competitive for export markets and investment dollars.

The main trouble spot remains Indonesia, which is grappling with its worst economic and social crisis in three decades. After 32 years in power, President Suharto was unanimously elected to another five-year term last week by an assembly he largely controls. But the future still looks uncertain, with food riots and strikes on ethnic Chinese in the provinces, unrest on college campuses in the capital and questions about whether the country's new vice president, B.J. Habibie, is a credible successor to Suharto. Even more troubling are con-

cerns that Suharto, 76, is preparing to jettison the country's IMF reform package, which he has reportedly described as violating the country's constitution. The latest disclosure has already been linked up, prompting fears the entire package is unraveling. And Suharto's new cabinet, named last weekend, is made up of cronies, including one of his closest business associates, and his eldest daughter. Their appointments are likely to undermine foreign investors.

In Thailand, where Prime Minister Chuan has received widespread praise for adhering to strict IMF guidelines, the government faces a parliamentary vote of confidence this month. In the Philippines, which generally has been less affected by the regional crisis, elections in May could see a populist former movie actor, Joseph Estrada, become the next president. Foreign investors and local business leaders continue the liberalization and privatization measures on under way. Even in South Korea, where

newly elected President Kim Dae-jung's bold pledges of reform have managed to stabilize the markets after months of financial turmoil, the president faces an unruly National Assembly controlled by his opponents, and a revolt by powerful conglomerates against his reform plans. There are also serious new concerns that Malaysia may be in worse shape financially than the government in Kuala Lumpur has acknowledged so far.

What is missing now — besides a solution in Indonesia — is a single country or market to act as a catalyst for the region, similar to the role Japan played in kick-starting Asian economic growth a decade ago. This time, despite pressure from the United States and Western Europe, Japan has shown little enthusiasm for intervening to spur its own stagnant economy and start buying more exports from its Asian neighbors.

The other two large markets in the region, China and India, are consumed by their own internal problems.

Armageddon Warning Proves Premature

Kathy Sawyer

ASTEROID 1997 XF11 has already had its impact on Earth. Last week's global dress rehearsal for Armageddon has now been indefinitely postponed. "Should serve as a wake-up call," said astronomer Daniel W.E. Green, who works at the astronomical clearinghouse that first informed the world a mile-wide asteroid would be heading down on Earth in 30 years, with the slight chance of a catastrophic collision on Oct. 28, 2028.

The drama began on Wednesday last week when Brian Marsden, a recognized amateur astronomer, informed the military data, issued a statement that was circulated on the Internet, saying that 30 years from now "it is virtually certain" the asteroid would pass within the moon's distance (less than

250,000 miles), probably much closer, and there was a slight chance it could strike Earth. "What got people's attention was that, at a mile wide, this was by far the largest object in the solar system," said Green. Any impact would cause widespread destruction and global ecological damage.

Marsden's prediction was based on observations spanning the three months since the asteroid was detected. The observations were made by a group of astronomers around the world, using different computer software to come up with similar results, said Green.

It never occurred to the International Astronomical Union (IAU) team not to put the word put at once, he said. "We're not in the world clearinghouse. Our job is to get the word out to astronomers... We actually get

criticized if we hold on to anything too long."

By the time new calculations from researchers at the Jet Propulsion Laboratory in Pasadena, California, showed the asteroid had "zero chance" of hitting Earth, Marsden and his staff were locked in a day-long marathon of television interviews. He learned about the new prediction belatedly, from reporters. The result was a period of confusion.

Overnight on Wednesday, asteroid watchers Eileen Helin and Ken Lawrence, of JPL, found previously unreported images of 1997 XF11 in a search of archived photographic plates from 1980 observations at Palomar Observatory. The new data went immediately to Donald K. Yeomans and Paul W. Chodas, at JPL, comet and asteroid trackers who cal-

culate trajectories for NASA spacecraft rendezvous and who correctly predicted the collision between a comet and Jupiter in 1994.

By Thursday last week Yeomans and Chodas had incorporated the new data which showed the asteroid would pass well beyond the distance of the moon.

Marsden and his staff were taken aback, Green said, but as soon as they confirmed the calculations with additional data from Helin, he said, "There was no debate of course not."

Yeomans disagreed. We quickly threw the JPL calculations into our own [computer] program and saw that the closest approach moved out to 600,000 miles."

It is an unfortunate necessity that the scientific process plays out in a manner that, to the public, appears confused, Chodas said. But when a cosmic object threatens to collide with Earth, "that's a special case."

U.S. to Expel Iraqis Who Helped CIA

William Branigan

LAWYERS for six Iraqi linked to a failed CIA effort to topple Saddam Hussein said last week they plan to appeal a US immigration order issued by a US immigration judge on the basis of secret evidence that their presence here threatens national security.

After spending nearly a year in detention in California, the six were ordered "excluded and deported from the United States" at the end of a 147-page decision, most of which was classified and withheld even from defense lawyers.

Immigration Judge D.D. Sigueros ruled last week that the six could not claim political asylum "because there are reasonable grounds for regarding [them] as a danger to the national security of the United States."

Defense attorneys said that while they would probably ask the Board of Immigration Appeals in Falls Church, Virginia, to take up the case, they are severely handicapped since they do not know what evidence the government has or even precisely what the charges are.

The case is one of a number of recent instances in which Arabs have been detained based on secret evidence that the Immigration and Naturalization Service has received from the FBI or other government agencies.

Six men ordered deported are among more than 6,500 Kurds and Iraqis who were brought to the United States last year after forces loyal to Saddam dismantled a CIA-backed operation aimed at overthrowing the Iraqi dictator. The evacuees were brought first to Turkey, then shipped to the U.S. territory of Guam in the Pacific. There they were screened by the FBI and CIA during days of several months before they were eventually flown to the United States.

Of the Iraqi evacuees, 25 were found to be security risks because of allegations that they were secretly serving as double-agents for Saddam, U.S. officials said. They were detained in Guam and brought to California on "parole" so that they could appear before immigration judges, who would determine whether they should be "excluded" from the United States or granted asylum, the officials said.

Nine currently face deportation. The rest have either been granted asylum or have pending applications. If eventually deported, the Iraqis would not necessarily be returned to their homeland, officials said, but could be sent to other countries that agreed to accept them. Their lawyers are seeking a court order to force them to return to Iraq.

Among those detained near Los Angeles in Saladin Bait, 33, a former aide to Ahmed Chalabi, the leader of the Iraqi National Congress opposition group.

According to his lawyer, Daniel Levy, Bait barely escaped death in a bombing in Baghdad in 1995 when he was in Iraq. He was flown to Bahrain, where his case attracts considerable publicity.

Bosnian Town Remains in Limbo

Lee Hockstader in Sarajevo

THE little Bosnian town of Brčko is a kind of ward of the planet Earth whose every twist and scrumby is followed and scrubbed by a multinational battery of bureaucrats, aid agencies, policemen and heavily armed soldiers.

A U.S. diplomat invested with kindly powers oversees the place, right down to determining who will live in which house, the list of required attendees at meetings of local police chiefs, the ethnic composition of the local municipal council and the pace at which privatization will proceed. His will is enforced by the presence of hundreds of U.S. troops and armor. Officials from dozens of other countries pile over the fine print of municipal government.

Brčko's status as the Balkans' most closely watched intensive care patient has now been extended until at least early 1998 while an international arbitration tribunal mulls the question of who should ultimately run the place — the Bosnian Serbs who are there now, or the Muslims who were there before the Bosnian war began.

In a closely watched decision, Robert B. Owen, an American lawyer who heads the arbitration panel, concluded that general instability in the region, and a rapidly shifting political scene in Bosnia's Serb-controlled half, justified a further delay — the third in 15 months. In the meantime, Brčko will remain in the hands of the Serbs, who captured it in 1992.

However, Owen warned that their new government fulfilled the promises to work for ethnic reintegration in Brčko, the arbitration panel would give control of the town to Bosnia's other half, the Muslim-Croat federation, next year.



Armed response . . . a U.S. patrol in Brčko monitors the uneasy peace

The intense spotlight trained on Brčko can be explained by its position on the map. It is situated on a hotly contested territory of two parts of the north. Without control over Brčko, the Serbs point out, their state would be cut in two.

But the town also sits astride the road that connects the Muslim-Croat federation with Croatia proper and the rest of central Europe to the north. Without it, say the Muslims, their access to the rest of Europe would be severely cramped.

Small wonder, then, that Serbs and Muslims have threatened to go to war over Brčko.

Before the Balkan conflict, Brčko was a predominantly Muslim town, with just a fifth of its residents list-

ing themselves as Serbs. The Serbs captured Brčko in 1992, and continued to hold it when the fighting ceased in 1995. Virtually all of the town's Muslim residents fled or were killed, although Muslims continued to control some of the town.

At the Dayton peace talks, the Serb side could agree on the town's fate, so they left it under Serb control with its ultimate fate in the hands of the arbitration panel. Owen postponed the decision twice, in December 1996 and again in February 1997, when he established an international supervisor for the town.

The supervisor, American diplomat Robert W. Farand, was to oversee the ethnic reintegration of the town, its police force, government

and judiciary. He made some progress, and more than 750 Muslim families returned to their prewar homes — more than in all other Serb-controlled territory combined.

But for most of 1997, hard-line Serbs blocked most of Farand's efforts, setting up illegal roadblocks, intimidating Muslims who tried to return to their homes, attacking international officials and trying to rig local elections.

Owen said last Sunday that the hard-line Serbs would have led him to turn Brčko over to the Muslim-Croat federation. But the Serb hardliners were defeated in elections last fall, and a new, moderate government took power in January, pledging complete cooperation with Western officials in Brčko.

Sandinistas Divided By Sex Scandal

Serge F. Kovalev in Managua

FOR much of Central America, Narvaez Murillo's life, there has been a haunting dualism to the personality of Nicaragua's former president and president-elect.

— Daniel Ortega, the Sandinista revolutionary leader, on the one hand, and the Sandinista's impassioned and idealistic stalwart of the Sandinista National Liberation Front who led the uprising that ousted dictator Anastasio Somoza in 1979, repelled the U.S.-backed contra forces fighting the Sandinistas and ushered in an era of socialism to this impoverished country of 4.4 million people.

But for Narvaez, 30, there is a darker side to Ortega. She has accused her stepfather of sexually abusing her, starting when she was 11 years old and continuing for more than a decade, mostly during the 1980s when Ortega was president. Narvaez has until now been silent about her abuse, but she has now spoken out — nearly seven years after she had married another high-ranking



Narvaez claims Ortega sexually abused her from the age of 11

Sandinista, with whom she had two children.

The allegations against the secretary-general of the opposition Sandinista party — first made public this month in an open letter by Narvaez — have sent seismic waves through Nicaragua's political and social circles.

Less than two months before the Sandinistas are to hold a congressional election, the scandal is creating deep divisions within a party whose political clout has steadily eroded over the years. The Sandinista hierarchy has swiftly closed ranks around Ortega, 52, defending his moral integrity.

Ortega has not denied the allegations, only saying that a news conference that he gave caused him "pain and sadness." In the meantime, the feminist wing of the party has called on Ortega to step down, as have other women's groups here. They contend Narvaez's case underscores how sexist the problem of sexual abuse is in Nicaragua.

Narvaez stressed that the timing of her accusations had nothing to do with this year's party congress, saying, "I could no longer continue waiting because this was not a matter of political calculation. I felt this moment of my liberation had arrived."

GUARDIAN WEEKLY March 22, 1998

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Burma's Bad Image Is Big Business for U.S. Lobbyists

E. Jeffrey Smith

THE military rulers of Burma are well aware they have an image problem in Washington. The Clinton administration has been quick to respond to the country's reputation.

For a fee of nearly a half-million dollars, for example, a Burmese company that U.S. officials say is close to the military leadership last year hired a former assistant secretary of state for narcotics control, Ann Wrobleksi, and her lobbying firm, Jefferson Waterman International, to communicate the company's "positions and interests," according to the contract.

But a bad image can mean big business for U.S. public relations and lobbying firms. Several firms have been conducting a campaign on Burma's behalf in classic Washington style — producing upbeat newsletters, arranging seminars and interviews and funding all-expense-paid trips — partly to persuade the Clinton administration to lift trade sanctions against the regime.

Another, well-connected firm in Burma's capital of Yangon hired a public relations firm and a lobbying firm last year, paying \$252,000 to former television reporter Jackson Bain to help the Burmese Embassy burnish the country's reputation, and an undisclosed sum to the Atlantic Group, a lobbying and public relations company that is working more directly to help overturn the U.S. sanctions.

In addition, various U.S. corporations that want to do business with Burma or already invest there, including the California-based energy company, Unocal Corp., have been

spending money to promote the idea that Washington's barriers to new U.S. trade with Burma do not reflect a politically sound U.S. strategy. The sanctions, which President Clinton imposed last May, bar new investment by U.S. firms in commercial or energy projects.

Lobbyists acting on these firms' behalf argue that Washington should reconsider keeping any unilateral sanctions on Burma because sanctions over time will become a wasting asset and slow Burma's exposure to the outside world.

The administration has given no hint that it plans to relax sanctions.

South Americans — from the lowest class to the highest rung of an intelligence that once considered European culture far more worthy of absorption — are flocking to take in more sophisticated American offerings. Among them, local productions of American plays, book signings by American authors, exhibits by experimental American artists.

Meanwhile, American symbols have become the ultimate marketing tools across the continent — often without true cognizance of their meaning in the States. A popular brand of jeans in Argentina, for instance, uses the Confederate flag as its logo — although four people here who were asked randomly about it had no clue of its association with slavery. "It's American," said a young man wearing a Confederate flag on his back. "It means liberty."

Everywhere, from artists to entrepreneurs to housewives — in a clamor for classes in "American English." And there is a growing tendency throughout the region to adopt English words into everyday speech — using "shopping" as a noun for a shopping mall or "top" when describing something as the ultimate.

"It's an amazing turnover," said James Moore, the cultural attaché at the U.S. Embassy here, which helped bring such performers as Lita Merz, the American Ballet Theatre, to make their debut appearances in Buenos Aires.

"After the fall of the dictators in Latin America and the invasion of Baghdad, the cultural circuit of America faded away," Moore said. "They don't feel guilty about enjoying American culture anymore, and now are intensely interested in the more sophisticated stuff — not just the Big Macs."

Nowhere is the switch from Yankee bashing to Yankee basking more obvious than in the capital of Ecuatorian Argentina, where 90 percent of the population is of European descent and where Juan Peron rose to the nation's highest office on anti-American rhetoric.

These days, the only Danny Yankee in Argentina are the ones on stage. Buenos Aires is the capital of the nation's highest office on anti-American rhetoric.

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Even Gauchos Get the Blues

In South America, Yankee culture is suddenly cool, writes Anthony Faiola in Buenos Aires

most celebrated authors. "English has replaced French — not just in economic circles but now in cultural circles. It has everything to do with America and the fact that it's being viewed as culturally important in a way we never thought before."

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Maureen Aung-Thwin, who directs the Sora Foundation Open Society Institute Burma Project, complained that the reception Burma gets from institutions in Washington "seems really mixed signals to a government that is beginning to feel the pressure of the isolation and the sanctions."

Lobbyists promoting a positive image of Burma say that they are doing nothing wrong. But the work is an uphill battle. According to the State Department's most recent public report on Burma, covering a six-month period ending last September, the Burmese regime "made no progress" in moving toward democratization and continued its "severe violations" of human rights.

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spending money to promote the idea that Washington's barriers to new U.S. trade with Burma do not reflect a politically sound U.S. strategy. The sanctions, which President Clinton imposed last May, bar new investment by U.S. firms in commercial or energy projects.

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"Don't worry, I've got him covered!"



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Making Capital Out of Punishment

OPINION
Ellen Goodman

AT LEAST it isn't China. In that beleaguered country, prisoners are subject to both the worst of the old totalitarian ways and the cruelest of capitalism.

On the one hand, you can still get executed in China for your political beliefs. On the other hand, in the marketplace to the highest bidder.

In China, prison authorities actually prep pre-executed bodies to save the parts and doctors stand by to reassemble them. It's even reported that prisoners with prime organs and ready customers get bumped to the front of the execution line.

But in Missouri, they aren't talking about post-mortem sales figures. They are, however, considering a proposal to make death row prisoners an offer they can't refuse.

Under a bill just filed in the state legislature, an inmate sentenced to death would be offered the option of giving up his kidney or bone marrow. For the price of a body part, he could have cash on hand to supplement his life without parole.

The use of prisoners as spare body-part factories, or organ farms if you prefer, is the latest attempt to

deal with what economists call a problem of supply and demand. In the United States there are 57,000 people on organ waiting lists. In 1996, one person died every three hours for want of a transplant. That's no small problem. This gap between the number of donors and the number of patients has enticed all sorts of organ entrepreneurship.

In the mid-1980s, a Virginia businessman first came up with the idea of importing poor Third World people and paying them for a kidney. This led the then Senator Al Gore to push through a law that banned the sale of human organs and tissue.

While the law hasn't entirely blocked the market, it has blacked it. A few weeks ago, two Chinese were arrested in an FBI sting operation in New York for trying to sell their kidneys, livers and lungs of executed prisoners.

We have been quite properly queasy about the free-market approach to the human body. There are some things that aren't bought and sold — among them an "extra" cornea or "spare" kidney. We do let people sell blood, hair, sperm. We've paid surrogate mothers and egg donors. But we've become increasingly uneasy, especially since a bidding war erupted in human eggs, upping the price to \$5,000 for a month's supply.

We should be even more uneasy about getting lifesaving surgery mixed up with the death penalty. Even in China, there's a difference between execution for punishment and dismemberment for profit. Who you can make a dollar from is never far from the mind of the capitalist.

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Tobacco Co. Is Top Donor

Ruth Marcus

FOR THE third year running, tobacco maker Philip Morris was the biggest "soft money" donor to the Republican Party, giving \$12 million in contributions last year, according to figures compiled by Common Cause. The Democratic Party's biggest soft money donor was the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, which contributed \$490,000.

The Common Cause analysis, based on reports by the parties to the Federal Election Commission, showed that tobacco interests gave a total of more than \$5 billion in soft money to the national parties last year, 82 percent to Republicans.

The biggest industry soft money donors were securities and investment interests, which contributed \$4.3 million.

"Soft money" refers to unlimited donations from individuals, corporations and labor unions to political parties and candidates. Corporations and unions are prohibited from making direct contributions to candidates for federal elections, and individuals may not give more than \$500,000 annually to political parties to help get federal candidates elected.

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John Co. 116

Angst in the Arab World

pinning great hopes on help from the international community, which could give his regime some financial breathing space.
(March 11)

(March 12)

Oil revenue boosts interest in Iraq's market

Oilies Paris in Baghdad

THE latest showdown between the United Nations and Iraq has not stopped major players in world trade jockeying for position in Baghdad. A huge and promising market is up for grabs. A country with the second-largest estimated oil reserves in the world is going, sooner or later, to have to be put back on its feet.

Two strategies are being played out simultaneously in Iraq. The first concerns agreements that may be concluded as part of UN Resolution 986, known as the "oil-for-food" resolution. It authorises Iraq to sell limited quantities of its main raw material and to buy, in return, food, medicines and capital goods. The second strategy is intended to pave the way for an eventual return to the world market.

The latest figures available to the French finance ministry show that France was the main beneficiary of the first two phases of Resolution 986, which have been in force for more than a year.

While France's market share of world trade is about 6 per cent, it has 12.37 per cent of trade with Iraq. That figure puts France ahead of Australia (11.43 per cent of market share), Jordan (8.65 per cent) and the United States (7.96 per cent). The French opened up an "economic growth" office in Baghdad in 1986.

With the exception of neighbouring Jordan, which is tied to Iraq by a bilateral agreement that allows it to import enough cheap Iraqi oil to meet its own needs, the oil-for-food

resolution has mainly benefited the major cereal-producing countries. The French government's attitude during the latest stand-off between Iraq and the UN did nothing to damage France's standing in Iraqi eyes — though it caused many British and US papers to launch swinging attacks on France's commercial "greed".

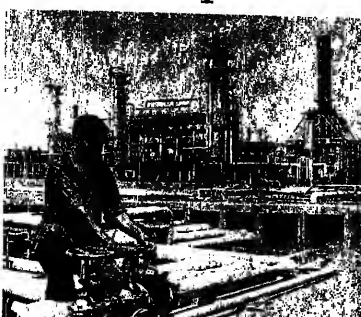
Changes in the political climate also explain why Russia and China have muscled in on the act in the past few months. Their combined market share of 10.52 per cent is now higher than that of the US.

An Iraq-watcher thinks however that France has only a slight edge: "The Iraqis pay at least as much attention to which country they do business with as to criteria such as quality. The Russians have had the advantage in selling contracts because of the poor quality of their products. We know they import products and resell them to the Iraqis, just to get their foot in the door."

It used to be wealthy, and I've often been surprised by how demanding the Iraqis can be when it comes to standards.

The increased value of oil that the UN now allows Iraq to sell (\$4 billion worth every six months instead of half that amount) will have the effect of diversifying the type of contracts that can be negotiated within the framework of Resolution 986.

Much higher sums than before have been earmarked for the rehabilitation of the power and water distribution networks. Although these networks are disastrously dilapidated, the purchase of such heavy



Currency flow... Iraq's oil-for-food agreement with the UN has foreign countries jockeying to sign trade deals. PHOTO KARIN SAHNS

equipment will not be clinched for many months. The market, though, is huge: a complete rehabilitation of the two vital utilities is expected to cost \$15-18 billion.

Contracts now in the pipeline are no more than a forerunner of what will come after the lifting of the embargo, which will be announced once the UN arms inspectors give the go-ahead.

It is, of course, Iraq's oil reserves that are most coveted. At a recent press conference the Iraqi oil minister, Amer Mohammed Rashid, said that Iraq's friends in times of

need would not be forgotten when it came to sharing out the reserves. He specifically named China, France and Russia.

Oil experts are not totally convinced by his promise. "Russia and China have already secured good contracts," they say. "There are at least two other very big contracts still to be concluded. It would be surprising if they were not granted to US companies."

The fact that US wealth is eaten daily in Iraq and that cars in the US guzzle Iraqi petrol bought by the Russians and immediately sold on

to the US demonstrates that policy is not allowed to get in the way of big business.

"US companies have been in what's cooking here," says an oil server in Baghdad. "They haven't done us any harm, but they've got through their foreign subsidiaries. But the main thing to remember that they're here."

When it comes to oil, the US is still haunted by its experience of the 1970s, despite the fact that it discovered promising offshore deposits. They never managed to claw their way back in to that sector. There have reportedly been calls in the US for the export not to be repeated.

Since oil can so easily be turned into an instrument of foreign policy, some analysts in Iraq are wary of the UN's role in the oil-for-food deal. The UN was offering \$2 billion in aid to the UN as a condition of its oil-for-food deal.

The Iraqis may be having problems, given the fact that they are not a production power. The Iraqis may be having problems, given the fact that they are not a production power.

That policy could be the price paid for eventually being brought back into the political fold, as a response to Saudi Arabia's opposition to possible US air strikes.

The latest diplomatic move back to the French finance ministry was the Iraqi oil minister's visit to Paris. The Iraqi oil minister's visit to Paris was the latest diplomatic move back to the French finance ministry.

John Carvel on why a diplomat or business executive heading for a new posting abroad might stop off first at a London college

Briefing encounter

THE School of Oriental and African Studies at London University is developing a new post in the Middle East of a corporate executive coming to the school to brief on the political, economic, legal and geographical aspects of a country.

If you are a senior diplomat taking up a new posting in the Middle East or a corporate executive considering a major investment in the region, the school can provide a tailor-made package of briefing before taking up colonial postings and there were crash programmes in Japanese, Chinese and Arabic for the armed forces in the second world war. In more recent times the school provided the expertise for the British government when it suddenly discovered the economic importance of Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan in the wake of the Soviet Union's collapse.

Since the 1980s the Swedish government has been sending its ambassadors for courses on the countries to which they were about to be posted. Arrangements were formalised when the Briefing Office was set up in 1985 and since then it has organised an induction for the ambassadors to Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, Namibia and Iran. Tommy Arwitt, the Swedish ambassador to Syria, has returned to Soas this year to expand his knowledge of current developments in Lebanon and Iraq.

Graham Thomas, head of the Briefing Office, said his customers included Japanese firms based in Britain that needed their British staff to become acclimatised to Japanese business methods and of elite etiquette. They had to be taught that Japanese managers were not being deliberately rude when they reprimanded subordinates for failing to anticipate their superior's unspoken wishes.

The unit has been carrying out country risk assessments for a company contemplating moving into business in West Africa. It is also running a training programme for commercial lawyers from the People's Republic of China.

There is some mystery about the identity of an "important individual" connected with a Middle East government who is being given a personalised course lasting several months to "learn about the world", with special emphasis on economics and the power of the media. That sounds like the induction of a member of a royal family, but Mr Thomas would not confirm or elaborate.

He said Soas had not been obliged to lay down rules about when it would be inappropriate to brief a regime that the Government might regard as hostile. There had been no approaches from Saddam Hussein for briefing on how better to outmanoeuvre the West.

Soas is often seen as neutral ground on which opposing arguments can be marshalled. We try to make our briefings as objective as possible. We are a university that has developed a capacity to brief on huge areas of the world, using our academic staff in a contemporary way, Mr Thomas said.



The Swedish ambassador to Damascus, Tommy Arwitt, and his wife Gun (facing) consult Middle East experts Dr Charles Tripp and Dr Rosemary Holles at Soas in London. PHOTOGRAPH: GRAHAM TURNER

Italian exiles in France back on red alert

Ex-radicals fear they may be sacrificed for the sake of European unity, writes Nathaniel Herzberg

FORMER Italian political activists exiled in France fear that their past has finally caught up with them: three are in jail and dozens of others are debating whether to flee the country or give themselves up collectively. French voluntary associations and people in the arts have rushed to the exiles' defence by forming support groups.

Only two months ago, these former members of armed far-left Italian organisations such as the Red Brigades and Rima Linea, whose presence on French soil had long been tolerated by the authorities, still had high hopes of getting their situation regularised. Now they fear they may be sacrificed on the altar of European unity.

The first warning shot was fired on January 6, when police arrested Franco Pigna at his home in the Paris suburb of Vincennes. Pigna had long been tolerated by the authorities, still had high hopes of getting their situation regularised. Now they fear they may be sacrificed on the altar of European unity.

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Alfredo Davanzo was picked up by police at his partner's home in Paris. A former Fiat worker, he was given a 15-year jail sentence by an Italian court in 1986 for armed robbery. The Paris public prosecutor issued an international warrant for his arrest in 1991, but French police took no interest in the case.

On January 30 Sergio Tornaghi was arrested in front of a school near Bordeaux as he was dropping off his daughter. He had been sentenced to life imprisonment in Italy for being an accessory to murder. But in 1985 a Paris appeal court ruled against extradition on the grounds that the offences he was accused of were of a "political" nature.

Tornaghi later obtained a residence permit, married a Frenchwoman, with whom he had two daughters, and settled in a small village of Camille-et-St-Denis. A glassworker who retrained as a computer technician, he is a union representative in the company where he works and active in village life.

Tornaghi is well known and much liked, who he was arrested, started a family and found a job. Mitterrand's pledge survived several subsequent changes of government. Around 300 former Italian activists live in France. Several dozen were tracked down, arrested and jailed, but they were all eventually released.

These developments have upset the Italian community. Some of its members have left home; others no longer use the telephone. The danger seems all the more menacing because the situation is unclear.

This is an area where the dividing line between politics and the law is blurred. The French public prosecutor's office can prevent an extradition, and the government has to accept its ruling. But if it rules in favour of extradition, its role is purely advisory: it is up to the prime minister to sign the order.

Apart from two orders that were signed, then cancelled, and the case of Paolo Persichetti, who is still under an expulsion order signed by Edouard Balladur in 1994, no prime minister has departed from the principle followed by Mitterrand.

In September 1997 Italian exiles who had no French residence permit applied to be regularised. "We were looking forward to getting our permit as a Christmas present," said one of them. "Instead, they went to hang us from the Christmas tree."

What had happened in the meantime, on October 25, 1997, was that Italy had officially signed up to the Schengen accord, which abolishes frontiers between European Union member states.

Suddenly some 700 Italian police files were fed into the European computer system (SIS). Up to then, an international arrest warrant came into effect only after being transferred by the central French police department into the French data base of wanted persons. With the SIS, any warrant sent to the SIS by an Italian magistrate is the equivalent of a temporary arrest warrant in France.

The problem can no longer be dealt with by doing nothing," said a French justice ministry source. "Nor can any deal be made between

two countries. It's now almost automatic. That's what the European judicial space is all about."

The French prime minister's office is a little less enthusiastic about Schengen than the justice ministry. "First, we don't know the intentions of the Italian government. Then there are presidential pledges that have been respected up to now. Lastly, there are personal debts that need to be examined."

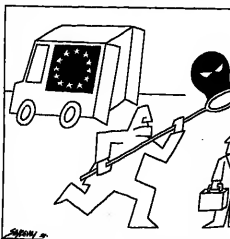
The prime minister, Lionel Jospin, is waiting for the result of negotiations with the Italian authorities. France has asked for "supplementary information" about the Italian exiles on the SIS. This has had the effect of freezing arrest warrants until they can be cleared by the French government. They have just written a letter to President Jacques Chirac and Joseph asking for guarantees.

A French former activist who has been in France for 15 years and who tolerates a "trickle of arrests" has been making one situation more secure. They say that they will tolerate a "trickle of arrests" as long as they can share a common life. The case it should come to that, the authorities of the letter, which has the support of several legal experts, has been decided to delete their names and addresses at the end of the letter.

The Italian government, while, in the meantime, the possibility of introducing an amnesty for former terrorists.

(March 5)

Le Monde



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(March 5)

Le Monde

Director: Jean-Marie Colombat

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ACADEMIC POSTS & COURSES 23

John Carvel on why a diplomat or business executive heading for a new posting abroad might stop off first at a London college

Briefing encounter

THE School of Oriental and African Studies at London University is developing a new post in the Middle East of a corporate executive coming to the school to brief on the political, economic, legal and geographical aspects of a country.

If you are a senior diplomat taking up a new posting in the Middle East or a corporate executive considering a major investment in the region, the school can provide a tailor-made package of briefing before taking up colonial postings and there were crash programmes in Japanese, Chinese and Arabic for the armed forces in the second world war. In more recent times the school provided the expertise for the British government when it suddenly discovered the economic importance of Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan in the wake of the Soviet Union's collapse.

Since the 1980s the Swedish government has been sending its ambassadors for courses on the countries to which they were about to be posted. Arrangements were formalised when the Briefing Office was set up in 1985 and since then it has organised an induction for the ambassadors to Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, Namibia and Iran. Tommy Arwitt, the Swedish ambassador to Syria, has returned to Soas this year to expand his knowledge of current developments in Lebanon and Iraq.

Graham Thomas, head of the Briefing Office, said his customers included Japanese firms based in Britain that needed their British staff to become acclimatised to Japanese business methods and of elite etiquette. They had to be taught that Japanese managers were not being deliberately rude when they reprimanded subordinates for failing to anticipate their superior's unspoken wishes.

The unit has been carrying out country risk assessments for a company contemplating moving into business in West Africa. It is also running a training programme for commercial lawyers from the People's Republic of China.

There is some mystery about the identity of an "important individual" connected with a Middle East government who is being given a personalised course lasting several months to "learn about the world", with special emphasis on economics and the power of the media. That sounds like the induction of a member of a royal family, but Mr Thomas would not confirm or elaborate.

He said Soas had not been obliged to lay down rules about when it would be inappropriate to brief a regime that the Government might regard as hostile. There had been no approaches from Saddam Hussein for briefing on how better to outmanoeuvre the West.

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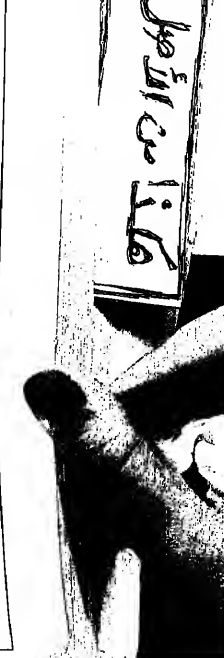
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CV6	DAEWOO	PRIMO	179.00	189.00	199.00
CV7	DAEWOO	PRIMO	179.00	189.00	199.00
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Blood money

A Papua New Guinea tribe has discovered what it is like to be exploited. Pauline Lane reports

IN 1984 the Hagahai people, who live in the highland forests of Papua New Guinea, contacted the outside world for the first time. Some of them walked out of the bush for three days, requesting medical help.

One of the people who responded was Carol Jenkins, an anthropologist from the United States. Her attention was to have a greater impact on the remote community that they could have imagined.

Jenkins took blood samples for medical diagnosis and the Hagahai, located from the Western medicines that arrived in the community. But little did they know that some members' blood contained unique genetic characteristics (STLV-II) that potentially offered resistance to a certain type of leukaemia. In particular, the cell line of an anonymous 28-year-old man contained a genome that held the possibility of developing diagnostic screening tests and vaccines.

The US National Institute of Health (NIH), seeing the potential of this sample, patented the man's genome. It meant that the US government owned a DNA sample from a US citizen.

Recently, I visited the Hagahai. They remember Jenkins with a mix of respect and anger. Yukotembei, one of the community leaders, said: "She wanted to see what kind of disease the Hagahai had. She said come and take blood. She said expect us to give our blood for nothing - she would give us no money or medicine."

Siba Lajel, another community leader, says no differentiation had been made between blood used for research and blood used for religious and ritual purposes. He said: "She just sent the medicine. We didn't know anything about the blood being sent away."

It appeared that the Hagahai had

not given their informed consent for the blood samples to be used for extended research.

Ibaji said: "Some of the older people did ask what she was going to do with the blood and she said, 'You don't have to worry, I just want to see what kind of diseases you have, and then the people in town can send the right medicines'."

The first time the Hagahai heard that their blood had been patented was when PNG journalists arrived by helicopter. The Rural Advancement Foundation International, an international NGO, had uncovered the patent and told the media.

Ibaji recalled the journalists' visit. He said: "They told us, 'You don't know but they are making money out of your blood.' They asked us if we had made money, and we told them we hadn't. We asked the anthropologist, but she said they were lying. But the talk keeps coming around."

The media exposure resulted in Jenkins being called to the PNG department of foreign affairs to account for her actions. The Hagahai were also asked to give evidence and, out of a desire for a long-term relationship with her, they supported her work. The anthropologist was given permission to continue, but the trust of the Hagahai was shaken.

It was a turning point in the Hagahai's perception of the world. They felt cheated by what happened. The issue of money for blood has brought a new dynamic to what had been a peaceful community. What to international pressure, the NIH withdrew the patent, but the blood sample is still held under the Biogen Convention by the semi-private American Type Culture Collection, and can be accessed by anyone for a small fee.

The Hagahai have little chance of



The peaceful world of the Hagahai, from the highlands of Papua New Guinea, has been shattered by the gene line scandal. PHOTO: PAULINE LANE

recompense, having no access to international courts. But they are not alone. Thousands of blood samples have been taken from indigenous groups without their knowledge and with no working records. Pharmaceutical companies trade indigenous DNA on the international market.

The first patent on human genes came in 1976, when John Moore, a US citizen, had his spleen removed due to cancer. When analysed, it was found that Moore's cell line had unique characteristics. The doctor patented the line and it was later bought by Sanofi, a Swiss pharmaceutical company that has since

made millions of dollars from a drug derived from the gene line. Moore challenged the decision in the California supreme court, which decided that citizens do not have any rights to their own cells once they have left the body. This has set a precedent for all future patents.

There is, effectively, no regulation on human gene prospecting and no international controls of the transfer of tissue samples between civilian and military researchers. Unesco's International Bio Ethical Committee is now drafting guidelines and an international declaration on human genetics for presentation at the United Nations this year.

Dr. Moore, "Since the floods here in January, all the latrines have got flooded. It's one reason why we have cholera."

Demand for the Vacutest's services is so great in Kilbarr that Kilbarr recently upped its charge to £7 a load.

The income from the machine is currently paying the wages of six people, including two operators, a part-time repair man and two people who buy water in bulk from the city council and supply it to Kilbarr's residents.

Graham Alabaster at Habitat, the Albanian agency for urban problems which is based in Nairobi, is a firm believer in Coffey and his machine. "Most aid donors seem to have moved away from hand-out technologies like this," he says.

"They are more interested in sociology. But I think innovative technology is vital for slum settlements. And this device can improve the living conditions of tens of millions of urban poor."

Alabaster was so convinced that last month he approached funding for the construction of five more Vacutests for trials around the world.

"I certainly don't claim exactly why this is a machine," says Coffey. "Basically I just want people to copy it."

Flush with triumph

Fred Pearce

CHOLERA stalks the shanty towns of Nairobi. But close behind is Manu Coffey's Vacuum - a simple machine for emptying the pit latrines that other pumps cannot reach. It could change the lives of tens of millions of shanty dwellers throughout the developing world.

After two years of trials in Kilbarr, Nairobi's largest slum with a population of half a million people, the Vacuum is about to go worldwide. It could hardly have had a tougher test. In Kilbarr one latrine is 10 metres deep, and each is shared by an average of 150 people.

Coffey, an Irish waste consultant, made the Vacuum himself two years ago, largely from second-hand car parts. It cost \$1,500 and is powered by a single-fish horsepower engine with a clutch drive.

Switch it on and the engine powers the two-wheeled machine round the tightest angle, at a steady 3km/h. Switch it off and the machine empties the latrine into a 600-litre tank within a few minutes. The pump reverses to empty the full tank - usually down a manhole into the nearby city sewer.

"People used to empty latrines here with a bucket," says Charles Molamu of the Kenya Water and Health Organisation (Kwaho), which operates a pump. "Tankers simply can't get into a place like this."

But with a wheelbase of 1.5m, Coffey's machine can work almost anywhere.

"We could use several more," says Molamu. "Since the floods here in January, all the latrines have got flooded. It's one reason why we have cholera."

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Energy experts take a shine to the sun

The past year has seen an explosion in solar-powered projects, writes Simon Jones

WHAT does it take to start a revolution? Dire need? Political will? Strategic knowledge? Or perhaps, and by these criteria a revolution is likely - money.

The past year has seen an explosion in photovoltaics, which turn sunlight into electricity. Seen until recently as an expensive, fiddly technology, photovoltaics (PV) are now going up all over the world, powering housing estates in Germany, an airport in Turkey, United States government buildings, Japanese office blocks, and even a British factory. The Ford motor company will open a solar-powered factory in Bridgend, Wales, this month.

This is not compared with what may be ahead. A fossil-fuelled world seems to have woken up to the potential of the green thermometer, that beams down enough energy in an hour to keep humanity going for a year. This market could reach \$100 billion in a couple of decades, according to the electronic giant, Siemens. Last year,

alone, world sales of solar panels shot up a record 42 per cent.

There is a moral imperative too. Business can make money while helping to save the planet, and governments can support industry and jobs while cutting CO₂ emissions - a double-edged sword.

Japan has led the way. Two years ago it had virtually no solar-powered houses. Now the government is spending \$600 million a year, and 70,000 solar panels are planned by 2000. This has, in turn, galvanised Canon, Sharp, Sony, Mitsubishi and other electronics giants.

Soured by the fear that Japan might knock the US off the top spot, Bill Clinton announced last June that the US should have a million solar roofs by 2010, and offering up to \$2,000 subsidy per roof. The plan will have carbon emissions equivalent to those from 850,000 cars, and create 70,000 jobs.

Not to be outdone, the European Union has published a white paper, creating a 100-fold boost to half-a-million solar roofs, costing 50,000 German Deutsches Marks (about £25 million). Germany has tripled since 1995, Switzerland, Italy and the Netherlands aggressively subsidise tens of thousands of solar-powered houses, and, Greece is building the world's largest solar power station.

Britain lags far behind, planning

to spend less than \$5 million this year on research. There are only six solar houses connected to the grid, besides a handful of high-profile projects, including offices at Newcastle university, the Earth Centre in Yorkshire and a community centre in Hackney, east London.

But oil corporations seem to be conceding that environmentalists may have a point after all. One privately accused Greenpeace claim that if solar panels were fitted to all suitable buildings, they could generate two-thirds of Britain's electricity.

"There is a pretty unanimous view that by 2050 they will not be oil companies but renewable energy companies," said Robert Hill, director of Newcastle university's Photovoltaic Application Centre. "Those that do not diversify will be struggling. Also, by 2050, few regions of the world will have adequate supplies of fossil fuels. Unless we have alternatives, there will be world wars."

Some of companies have sharply boosted their commitment to solar power. Shell hopes to capture 10 per cent of the world market by investing \$500 million, while BP wants a \$1 billion solar business within a decade. Its chief executive, John Browne, said recently: "There is no doubt there is sufficient sunlight to generate all the energy the world needs... and it is possible

Lead role in a s

star dynasty

burn's obdurate brother, that he

1.25m

But Udall doesn't just hate cats. He doesn't just hate Jews, blacks and gays, either. His misanthropy admits no prejudice.

Alas. poor

Our Mutual Friend is much possessed by death. One of the most taldng exchanges is between Venua (Timothy Spall), a skeleton-maker, and Wegg (Kenneth Cranham).

Bradley), the sort of crook who gives crime a bad name, crouched like a cormorant beside the water waiting for his fish to come in.

Hexam's death releases the sec-

The lad who had been shot was reassuringly vocal. "I've seen two people w' guna today. This other one pulled the gun out like that, and I went, 'Go on, then! Shoot me!

ing them next week! Trust me!" Bert and Bill chuckled dishearteningly. When the police frisked the prisoner, they found two air fresheners from his cell.

Had Escher not existed...

About 30 per cent of the exhibits have never been on public display before. You are invited to poke

But then Escher was never welded to hormones in an inexplic-

ing right. If only Escher's universes were quite so straightforward:

Not so funny was his blacklisting. It came during the era of Senator Joseph McCarthy's real scare during the early 1950s. Eventually judges scumbled and appeared as "friendly" witnesses — one who operated — before the House American Activities Committee. It meant that he named names of his potential leftists and admitted having been a member of the United States Communist Party during the 1940s.

He soon found a niche as a stolid, handsome heavy — often baring his chest, in westerns — obstructing the paths of Danes Andrews in Canyon Heroes (1946), Joel McCrea in Gunsmoke (1947) and Randolph Scott in Colt 45 (1950). In The White Tower (1950) Bridges was at his most convincingly obnoxious as an arrogant ex-Nazi on a mountain expedition, who despises Glenn Ford's effluent democratic principles. In the same year, in The Sound of Music, he played a brutish kidnapper

Japaneseland island. It was produced by Stanley Kramer and written by Foreman, both of whom went on to become (in 1959) the classic western bridge players Marshall Gary Cooper's guy, who refuses to support his country against a group of grumblers, and of both leading the nation in a bitter irony in the fact at the film made an intentional analogy with McCarthyism.

It was soon after completing The Kramer (1960) that he became a pioneer, Sullivan, in the

Ronald Bergen
Lloyd Bergen, actor, born January 1, 1915.

...offering from obsessive-compulsive disorder, whose symptoms can be alleviated by taking pills. Now the monster begins to turn to human form. And, inevitably, he becomes rather less scary for the audience to be with. In what is, at heart, just another sentimental Hollywood movie, what stays with us is the Oscar-nominated performance of Helen Hunt's pale, preoccupied, single-parent waitress, who seems like an emphyrean in the real world.

Despite blanket denial from the art establishment, Manthorpe doggedly pursued trails as fruitless as his subjects' own.

embodiment, part company for ever. I was not to see him again. "I am," Escher proclaimed, "in fact, I don't even know what is it." Yet at the same time, the doors of the maths faculties worldwide were open to him. He was not Escher. Escher became something of an idol. Here was a person with the ability to draw fresh and representations of the most sophisticated mathematical concepts without redundancy of the kind, of course, is that any teacher Escher could, a computer can now do quicker, and

Bacher's imagery is easy to dismiss, difficult to ignore. I couldn't prevent myself peering for a long time into *Ascending, Descending*, his doleful depiction of purgatories: souls on the spiral 'airway' to nowhere. So long, in fact, that the lights had been turned off, and a security guard had begun issuing directions to the exit. 'It's in this basement: you go down the first flight of stairs, then the second and third. Basically, you just keep turning right.' If only Bacher's universe could be as obedient.



A history of hare loss

Mark Cooper

ALTHOUGH it was about the same colour as the surrounding earth, it was the one odd in the whole field that seemed to lack the glinting, ploughed, clay edge of its neighbours. And hinculcous soon revealed other peculiarities — a long narrow drawn into the soft fur of the chest, a tiny iris narrowed to an intense slit and those fantastic black-tipped ears smoothed down along almost its entire back. At the rear, the hard knotted bulge of its haunches suggested the compressed power of two tightly coiled springs.

Then, with a sudden jolt of electricity, the springs burst open and those ridiculously long legs catapulted this mad March hare into an awkward and unorthodoxly jinking canter. Later, far across the other side of the field, it toppled to a halt and stretched the upper body and head skywards while its nostrils flared open as if the creature were sampling the delicate chemistry of an awakening earth.

The brown hare's spring rituals are now so closely intertwined with our perception and celebration of springtime as a whole that it's hard to believe the species is native to Britain nor was it viewed favourably by our ancestors.

While proto-hares and their descendants have been present across Eurasia for 60 million years, but the brown hare was absent from the British Isles until the Romans introduced it. They bred rabbits and hares for the table and it seems of a piece with our notions of classical decadence that they were introduced as the lauriceae — the roasted embryos of both species — a rare culinary delicacy. Unlike the rabbit, which had to wait for the Normans to unleash its own conquest of Britain, the hare escaped from the Roman's leperaria and has been at large ever since.

Yet the creature's wild spring antics were the source of a long association with madness and melancholy, while a superstition that



ILLUSTRATION: ANN HODGKIN

witches could assume the hare's appearance led to its evil reputation. One fragment of medieval lore that survived until the last century was a belief that if a hare crossed a man's path it was a sign of misfortune.

Now, however, it seems that these roles have reversed. Recent changes in Britain's man-made landscape — a loss of heathlands and woodland, the intense use of agrochemicals, increased production of sludge and higher stocking densities — are background factors in a massive slump in hare numbers. A survey conducted in the early nineties suggested a population of about 800,000, which represents a decline of 80 per cent since the turn of the century. In large parts of Wales and western England hares are absent, while East Anglia, representing just one-twentieth of the land surface, holds one-fifth of all British hares.

But it is a measure of the inextinguishable link between humans and the

hares' fortunes that they often do best in areas where they are most frequently hunted. Despite the heavy toll taken by shooting and the monolithic brutality of hare-couring parties, where the pace of Britain's fastest mammal is pitted against the greater stamina of two greyhounds — their love for the sport ensures that hunters and landowners create the conditions most suitable for their incoherent quarry.

An even more perverse example of this strange inter-relationship between hunter and hare arises in Argentina. In the 19th century colonists introduced hares for sport, but the animals adapted so well to the pampas that by the 1970s Argentinians were harvesting between five and 10 million annually without reducing overall numbers. In fact, European hunters now supplement their own dwindling hare populations at home with animals imported from South America.

Chess Leonard Barden

GOOD chess books are rare these days compared with the flood of titles on speed-dial openings. It is far easier to transfer variations from a database to the printed page than attempt to verbalise concepts that the average expert expresses to himself in terms of specific moves or short-hand ideas.

Secrets Of Practical Chess by John Nunn (Gambit) and Improve Your Chess Now by Jonathan Tisdall (Cadogan), both £14.99, have appeared almost simultaneously.

Nunn is an English Olympiad gold medalist and a highly regarded writer. Tisdall is a Norwegian-American GM who reported world title matches for Reuters. The professional touch shows; both books are clear, reader-friendly and practical.

I'm sure I would have done better as a player with the benefit of Nunn's advice on avoiding time pressure and Tisdall's pages on the subtleties of the Queen's Gambit minority attack.

Tisdall shows how strong players analyse. He also provides advice and pattern-recognition tests to improve vision and calculation, and has chapters on defending poor positions and on typical strategies.

Nunn is especially good on openings and on taking a critical approach to books and articles of the "Win with..." variety. There are some weaknesses. Nunn gets carried away into excessively long analyses, while his starred boards, which attempt to explain queen and pawn v queen, look too complicated.

His conclusion is that the pawn is the best to have if you want to win, but it isn't rated that high a pawn is a good. Tisdall is distracted into abstract philosophical discussions, and I'm dubious whether a player with a low chess visual ability can improve it much.

Better, surely, to provide

practical tests of what the book says, such as the well-known de Groot test, where world champion Botvinnik recalled much more of a game position after a few seconds than did local experts. And the Caro-Kann and Levitt tests, which involve hopping a knight around the board as fast as possible while dodging a static queen or pawn, are useful tests of natural ability.

Most of what Nunn and Tisdall write is very helpful, and these two books may improve your play markedly if you are anywhere from club player up to expert. It's a pity that the authors didn't get together to create a joint work — that could have been a modern classic.

Here's a Tisdall imagination test. Try to visualise the end game, then decide what happened at the end (Sokolov vs Savitsky, Leningrad 1941): 1 e4 Nc6 2 d4 Nf6 3 Nc3 Ne7 4 Bg5 Nd5 5 Bxh6 Nf6 6 N3 Ne6 7 Qd3 Nf6 8 a3 0-0 9 B4 B6 10 d3 11 N4 N4 12 Rb1 R6 13 N4 N6.

White notes in 13 moves, against any defence (R Williams 1959). Just a single line of play, but well hidden.

No 2514: 1 N3 N6 2 N6 N4 3 N6 Rb4 4 N4 N6 5 N6 N4 6 N6 N6 7 N3 N6 8 N6 N4 9 N6 N6 10 N6 N6 11 N6 N6 12 N6 N6 13 N6 N6 14 N6 N6 15 N6 N6 16 N6 N6 17 N6 N6 18 N6 N6 19 N6 N6 20 N6 N6 21 N6 N6 22 N6 N6 23 N6 N6 24 N6 N6 25 N6 N6 26 N6 N6 27 N6 N6 28 N6 N6 29 N6 N6 30 N6 N6 31 N6 N6 32 N6 N6 33 N6 N6 34 N6 N6 35 N6 N6 36 N6 N6 37 N6 N6 38 N6 N6 39 N6 N6 40 N6 N6 41 N6 N6 42 N6 N6 43 N6 N6 44 N6 N6 45 N6 N6 46 N6 N6 47 N6 N6 48 N6 N6 49 N6 N6 50 N6 N6 51 N6 N6 52 N6 N6 53 N6 N6 54 N6 N6 55 N6 N6 56 N6 N6 57 N6 N6 58 N6 N6 59 N6 N6 60 N6 N6 61 N6 N6 62 N6 N6 63 N6 N6 64 N6 N6 65 N6 N6 66 N6 N6 67 N6 N6 68 N6 N6 69 N6 N6 70 N6 N6 71 N6 N6 72 N6 N6 73 N6 N6 74 N6 N6 75 N6 N6 76 N6 N6 77 N6 N6 78 N6 N6 79 N6 N6 80 N6 N6 81 N6 N6 82 N6 N6 83 N6 N6 84 N6 N6 85 N6 N6 86 N6 N6 87 N6 N6 88 N6 N6 89 N6 N6 90 N6 N6 91 N6 N6 92 N6 N6 93 N6 N6 94 N6 N6 95 N6 N6 96 N6 N6 97 N6 N6 98 N6 N6 99 N6 N6 100 N6 N6 101 N6 N6 102 N6 N6 103 N6 N6 104 N6 N6 105 N6 N6 106 N6 N6 107 N6 N6 108 N6 N6 109 N6 N6 110 N6 N6 111 N6 N6 112 N6 N6 113 N6 N6 114 N6 N6 115 N6 N6 116 N6 N6 117 N6 N6 118 N6 N6 119 N6 N6 120 N6 N6 121 N6 N6 122 N6 N6 123 N6 N6 124 N6 N6 125 N6 N6 126 N6 N6 127 N6 N6 128 N6 N6 129 N6 N6 130 N6 N6 131 N6 N6 132 N6 N6 133 N6 N6 134 N6 N6 135 N6 N6 136 N6 N6 137 N6 N6 138 N6 N6 139 N6 N6 140 N6 N6 141 N6 N6 142 N6 N6 143 N6 N6 144 N6 N6 145 N6 N6 146 N6 N6 147 N6 N6 148 N6 N6 149 N6 N6 150 N6 N6 151 N6 N6 152 N6 N6 153 N6 N6 154 N6 N6 155 N6 N6 156 N6 N6 157 N6 N6 158 N6 N6 159 N6 N6 160 N6 N6 161 N6 N6 162 N6 N6 163 N6 N6 164 N6 N6 165 N6 N6 166 N6 N6 167 N6 N6 168 N6 N6 169 N6 N6 170 N6 N6 171 N6 N6 172 N6 N6 173 N6 N6 174 N6 N6 175 N6 N6 176 N6 N6 177 N6 N6 178 N6 N6 179 N6 N6 180 N6 N6 181 N6 N6 182 N6 N6 183 N6 N6 184 N6 N6 185 N6 N6 186 N6 N6 187 N6 N6 188 N6 N6 189 N6 N6 190 N6 N6 191 N6 N6 192 N6 N6 193 N6 N6 194 N6 N6 195 N6 N6 196 N6 N6 197 N6 N6 198 N6 N6 199 N6 N6 200 N6 N6 201 N6 N6 202 N6 N6 203 N6 N6 204 N6 N6 205 N6 N6 206 N6 N6 207 N6 N6 208 N6 N6 209 N6 N6 210 N6 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N6 311 N6 N6 312 N6 N6 313 N6 N6 314 N6 N6 315 N6 N6 316 N6 N6 317 N6 N6 318 N6 N6 319 N6 N6 320 N6 N6 321 N6 N6 322 N6 N6 323 N6 N6 324 N6 N6 325 N6 N6 326 N6 N6 327 N6 N6 328 N6 N6 329 N6 N6 330 N6 N6 331 N6 N6 332 N6 N6 333 N6 N6 334 N6 N6 335 N6 N6 336 N6 N6 337 N6 N6 338 N6 N6 339 N6 N6 340 N6 N6 341 N6 N6 342 N6 N6 343 N6 N6 344 N6 N6 345 N6 N6 346 N6 N6 347 N6 N6 348 N6 N6 349 N6 N6 350 N6 N6 351 N6 N6 352 N6 N6 353 N6 N6 354 N6 N6 355 N6 N6 356 N6 N6 357 N6 N6 358 N6 N6 359 N6 N6 360 N6 N6 361 N6 N6 362 N6 N6 363 N6 N6 364 N6 N6 365 N6 N6 366 N6 N6 367 N6 N6 368 N6 N6 369 N6 N6 370 N6 N6 371 N6 N6 372 N6 N6 373 N6 N6 374 N6 N6 375 N6 N6 376 N6 N6 377 N6 N6 378 N6 N6 379 N6 N6 380 N6 N6 381 N6 N6 382 N6 N6 383 N6 N6 384 N6 N6 385 N6 N6 386 N6 N6 387 N6 N6 388 N6 N6 389 N6 N6 390 N6 N6 391 N6 N6 392 N6 N6 393 N6 N6 394 N6 N6 395 N6 N6 396 N6 N6 397 N6 N6 398 N6 N6 399 N6 N6 400 N6 N6 401 N6 N6 402 N6 N6 403 N6 N6 404 N6 N6 405 N6 N6 406 N6 N6 407 N6 N6 408 N6 N6 409 N6 N6 410 N6 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N6 911 N6 N6 912 N6 N6 913 N6 N6 914 N6 N6 915 N6 N6 916 N6 N6 917 N6 N6 918 N6 N6 919 N6 N6 920 N6 N6 921 N6 N6 922 N6 N6 923 N6 N6 924 N6 N6 925 N6 N6 926 N6 N6 927 N6 N6 928 N6 N6 929 N6 N6 930 N6 N6 931 N6 N6 932 N6 N6 933 N6 N6 934 N6 N6 935 N6 N6 936 N6 N6 937 N6 N6 938 N6 N6 939 N6 N6 940 N6 N6 941 N6 N6 942 N6 N6 943 N6 N6 944 N6 N6 945 N6 N6 946 N6 N6 947 N6 N6 948 N6 N6 949 N6 N6 950 N6 N6 951 N6 N6 952 N6 N6 953 N6 N6 954 N6 N6 955 N6 N6 956 N6 N6 957 N6 N6 958 N6 N6 959 N6 N6 960 N6 N6 961 N6 N6 962 N6 N6 963 N6 N6 964 N6 N6 965 N6 N6 966 N6 N6 967 N6 N6 968 N6 N6 969 N6 N6 970 N6 N6 971 N6 N6 972 N6 N6 973 N6 N6 974 N6 N6 975 N6 N6 976 N6 N6 977 N6 N6 978 N6 N6 979 N6 N6 980 N6 N6 981 N6 N6 982 N6 N6 983 N6 N6 984 N6 N6 985 N6 N6 986 N6 N6 987 N6 N6 988 N6 N6 989 N6 N6 990 N6 N6 991 N6 N6 992 N6 N6 993 N6 N6 994 N6 N6 995 N6 N6 996 N6 N6 997 N6 N6 998 N6 N6 999 N6 N6 1000 N6 N6 1001 N6 N6 1002 N6 N6 1003 N6 N6 1004 N6 N6 1005 N6 N6 1006 N6 N6 1007 N6 N6 1008 N6 N6 1009 N6 N6 1010 N6 N6 1011 N6 N6 1012 N6 N6 1013 N6 N6 1014 N6 N6 1015 N6 N6 1016 N6 N6 1017 N6 N6 1018 N6 N6 1019 N6 N6 1020 N6 N6 1021 N6 N6 1022 N6 N6 1023 N6 N6 1024 N6 N6 1025 N6 N6 1026 N6 N6 1027 N6 N6 1028 N6 N6 1029 N6 N6 1030 N6 N6 1031 N6 N6 1032 N6 N6 1033 N6 N6 1034 N6 N6 1035 N6 N6 1036 N6 N6 1037 N6 N6 1038 N6 N6 1039 N6 N6 1040 N6 N6 1041 N6 N6 1042 N6 N6 1043 N6 N6 1044 N6 N6 1045 N6 N6 1046 N6 N6 1047 N6 N6 1048 N6 N6 1049 N6 N6 1050 N6 N6 1051 N6 N6 1052 N6 N6 1053 N6 N6 1054 N6 N6 1055 N6 N6 1056 N6 N6 1057 N6 N6 1058 N6 N6 1059 N6 N6 1060 N6 N6 1061 N6 N6 1062 N6 N6 1063 N6 N6 1064 N6 N6 1065 N6 N6 1066 N6 N6 1067 N6 N6 1068 N6 N6 1069 N6 N6 1070 N6 N6 1071 N6 N6 1072 N6 N6 1073 N6 N6 1074 N6 N6 1075 N6 N6 1076 N6 N6 1077 N6 N6 1078 N6 N6 1079 N6 N6 1080 N6 N6 1081 N6 N6 1082 N6 N6 1083 N6 N6 1084 N6 N6 1085 N6 N6 1086 N6 N6 1087 N6 N6 1088 N6 N6 1089 N6 N6 1090 N6 N6 1091 N6 N6 1092 N6 N6 1093 N6 N6 1094 N6 N6 1095 N6 N6 1096 N6 N6 1097 N6 N6 1098 N6 N6 1099 N6 N6 1100 N6 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